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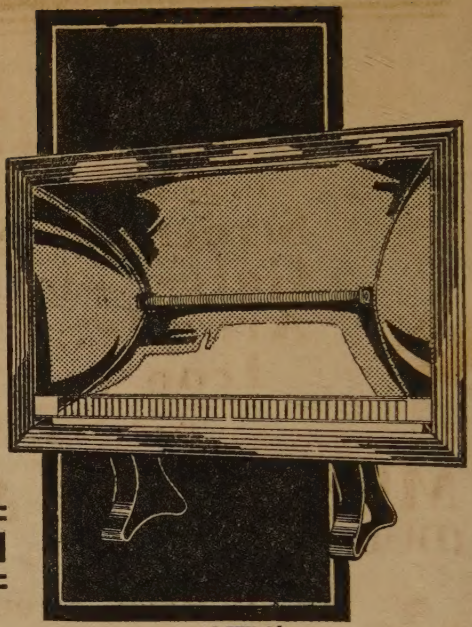

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VOL. XXI No. 81

STUDIES

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MARCH 1932

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LOOKING forward to the fifteenth centenary of St. Patrick, which has now arrived, and writing in *Studies* some years ago I ventured to put forward a number of suggestions with regard to possible ways of celebrating the centenary. "It will be a matter of common agreement," I ventured to think, "that the outcome of the common effort should not be transient, and that out of this centenary and of the action of the united Irish people in Ireland and abroad some thing or some number of things that will be permanent and noble, fitting the occasion, reverent of the past yet fruitful for the future, ought to arise." It seemed safe to say "that they will wish to make 1932 a memorable year, and that they will prepare to do honour to Patrick and to the nation which began through him a new and glorious life, honouring him and Ireland in a manner that will bring the world to honour them."

At the same time, I ventured to suggest a number of forms which commemoration of this centenary year might take with permanent advantage. In the meantime, the decision to hold the Eucharistic Congress in Ireland this year has invested both the place and the time with singular prominence and dignity. Among the suggested methods of commemoration, there is one which this conjuncture of events may possibly seem to make especially acceptable. "For Irish Studies," I wrote, "including Irish historical studies, the great and imperative need is publication. We have some capable students and scholars, but very little outlet for their researches. . . . What is most needed and is severely needed is the publication of documents, the raw material of historical study." Further, under the head of Ecclesiastical History: "Though much has been written and rewritten on this subject, there has been no thorough exploration of material, and as in the case of our secular history, the selective method usually followed is defective

and unconvincing." I went on to advocate "the institution of a Library of the Monumenta Hiberniae, in the form of a continuous series of uniform volumes, to be published under the direction of a corporate body of competent scholars, with a suitable endowment to be administered under the terms of a definite trust. At the head of such a collection of material would naturally stand the first historical documents known to have been written in Ireland—namely, the Epistle and the Confession of St. Patrick; for, among his other glories, St. Patrick has the distinction of being the first of our writers and the first writer of Irish history."

Since my plea on behalf of a thorough exploration of the material of Irish Ecclesiastical history was put forward, certain favourable events have taken place. Among these is the publication of Dr. Kenney's great bibliographical work, "Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Volume I, Ecclesiastical," the publication of "Irish Monasticism" by Father John Ryan, S.J., and the establishment of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, with functions extending to the publication of material concerning the Irish past in its religious as well as in its cultural, economic, and political aspects, and to the republication of important books which have become virtually inaccessible through rarity.[1]

Viewing the matter from the historical standpoint simply, a comprehending inquirer cannot fail to recognise that the writing or the study of Irish history is a vain conceit unless the history of Ireland is understood to comprise in a very ample measure the history of religion in Ireland. It is possible, without making any single untrue statement, to give a quite defective and misleading view of history by failure to present the main factors in their right proportion.

[1] It may not be generally recognised that the work and order of publication under this Commission are of necessity mainly dependent on qualified persons being forthcoming to have access to the materials where they are preserved, to transcribe them, where necessary to translate them, to compile indexes, and to exercise editorial supervision over their preparation and production.

This, in the case of Ireland, is not to be thought the less necessary because, in dealing with the history of a people, it may not be wholly in the modern fashion to give prominence to their religious concerns. If we take up a book which professes in its title to have for subject "The History of ——" this or that country, designated by name, we expect to find in it an account of political rulers and governments, their fortunes and vicissitudes, their internal and external rivalries and combinations, their success or failure in building up or pulling down, maintaining or reforming, this or that scheme of government. If the historian finds place for other matters, such as the religion of the people, their cultural life, their economic affairs, it will probably be in a small-type appendix at the end of a chapter, as befits something to be regarded as ministering in a subordinate capacity to the grander theme.

Let us consider the natural effect of such books of history, used for instruction in Schools, read in homes and libraries, reflected in every agency of publicity, and whether they do not infuse into the general mind, with notable results, a particular ideal, which seems to be brought into contrast with another ideal in the Gospel for the Mass of the day on which these words happen to be written: "Jesus called them to Him and said: You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that are the greater exercise power upon them. It shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister, and he that shall be first among you shall be your servant." The princes of our time are democratic statesmen and politicians. The more it changes, the more it remains the same thing. It is but a short time since Czarist Russia was thought to have realised the extreme form of the State Absolute. The Czardom is now seen to have been a toy in comparison with the absolutism of the political and economic doctrinaires. Spain has re-

jected a dynasty and a dictatorship in favour of a more elaborate form of the State Absolute. In a recent pronouncement, His Holiness Pope Pius XI has pointed to an evil and a danger of our time in "the pagan worship of the State." Instances could be given of the very words of religious thought and religious worship adopted to express our relations to the State, and this too, so far as one may judge, in all seriousness and not at all by way of figures of speech. Let us ask ourselves whether more has been done to propagate and implant this order of thinking, in minds unaware, through any agency known to us than through the ordinary books of secular history.

I have often been urged to undertake or to set on foot the preparation of a general history of Ireland, or a general history covering the period from the earliest times down to some definite point, such as the Anglo-Norman Invasion or the Protestant Reformation and the Expropriation of the Irish. For various reasons, I have felt such an undertaking to be still premature. We have as yet nothing approaching to a "school" of Irish historical studies, even in the form of a number of persons working in the loosest collaboration on different parts of the work. I have explained in my former article on "The Fifteenth Centenary of St. Patrick" that the difficulty does not consist in the want of competent workers, but mainly in the want of adequate provision to enable and encourage them, *by means of publication*, to continue their studies in Irish history and to work progressively. In nearly every instance under my observation, those who have capacity and suitable preparation for such work have been forced to divert their talent to wholly different and incongruous pursuits, such as a laborious teaching occupation, the civil service, or some employment in private business; and this dislocation usually comes just at the critical time when they have reached a stage of preparation that would enable them to do new work in the field of Irish history. I feel certain that some of these and probably the best among them

would continue their studies and become active contributors to the investigation of historical materials, notwithstanding their other occupations, if a scheme of publication for particular studies in Irish history were set on foot. But especially, as I have argued, it must be recognised that Irish history, despite the fashions and leanings, and I may add the timidities, that we find in vogue, must necessarily consist to a very large extent of the history of religion in Ireland and in relation to Ireland. Here Dr. Kenney's work has shown us how large and rich is the field of which he has given us a preliminary survey. The actual state of the case is revealed when—as recently in the press and in other publications—a discussion arises about such matters as St. Patrick and the early Irish Church. In most instances, the disputants rely either on general impressions, for which they cannot render an account, or on selected items taken out of and away from surroundings and antecedents which are blindly ignored.

On all grounds, then, I plead that the time is ripe and particularly opportune for the formation of a school of Irish ecclesiastical history. I use the word "school," in the widest sense, to mean the conscious collaboration of a number of persons, but I do not at all contemplate the neglect of some more concrete and definite plan of studies. On the contrary, it is only because of my own incompetence to formulate such a plan, and my ignorance of the details regarding successful working precedents in other countries, that I am obliged to present this plea in such an open form. It is more than likely that the Eucharistic Congress will bring together here a number of persons who may have precise knowledge and in some cases perhaps valuable experience of the organised collaborative study of ecclesiastical and religious history in other countries. It might be found possible during or after the Congress to have a conference between such persons and others in Ireland with the purpose of considering by what means and on what lines the study of this branch of history could be placed on a proper footing.

Personal experience during a lecturing tour some time ago in part of the United States and Canada has still more strongly convinced me that a great opportunity now lies open before a planned advance in Irish historical and cultural studies. I had to lecture before audiences sometimes of the general public, sometimes mainly of university students, but in all cases the experience was the same. Lectures designed to give authentic historical information, without any rhetorical appeal to patriotic sentiment, aroused keen and serious interest. Besides the people of Irish origin and affections, there are many in America who recognise that a right appreciation of Ireland's place in history, disseminated in America, must contribute notably to the cultural and spiritual upbuilding of American society. It was particularly pressed on me, as an example, that the general body of American citizens of Scandinavian origin had been strongly stimulated to higher purposes, and had risen in the estimation of the American public as well as in their own self-respect and dignity, by reason of the great advance made by Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in cultural developments based on national history and tradition. A constant communication between these developments and America is secured through the instrumentality of the "American Scandinavian Foundation." I give it, not as my own opinion, but as the considered view of men of eminent standing in American education who are not of Irish origin, that Ireland's achievements in the past, rightly made known in America through study, education and publicity, can be expected to better the Scandinavian example, and they advocate that this should be undertaken and achieved *for the benefit of America*. When Ireland makes good, remarked one of them, some word will be needed to carry the prestige that has belonged in recent years to "Nordic." Our rivalry with these kinsfolk of our ancient enemies will be generous, not envious. Their own regeneration is an outcome in no small part of the inspiration derived through Patrick and Brigid and Colum Cille.

EOIN MACNEILL

SAINT PATRICK AND THE POLITICS OF HIS DAY

BY HENRY MORRIS

"IN studying the Church history of a country we should never lose sight of the influence of political forces as factors in the moulding of current events."[1] These are the words of a modern Irish writer who has made a close and penetrating study of our national history, both ecclesiastical and secular. It is an advice badly needed in this country where writers on ecclesiastical subjects, particularly of the early period, rarely pay much heed to the political conditions and political movements at the period of which they write.

They are not wholly to blame. Our modern histories written in English are quite lop-sided. History in any kind of rational sequence only begins in them about the battle of Clontarf. The thousand years of our era before this event get a relatively small space, and even this small space will be found chiefly occupied with descriptions of manners and customs, dress, weapons, arts, and an account of our early saints and their ecclesiastical schools; but of secular history proper the amount given is ludicrously small, incoherent and opaque. And for this the reason is that the chief source of our secular history before Clontarf is in Irish, and few of the modern writers of our popular histories have been able to tap this source to any adequate extent. Hence the history of the thousand years before the rise of Brian has yet to be written.

This is one of the reasons why the Patrician period is so puzzling: we see the actors, but we do not see the stage, and the movements of the actors were determined in no small measure by the setting and arrangements of

[1] J. P. Dalton: *Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Journal*, 1929, p. 19.

the stage. It was a period of change and unrest, especially in the middle and north of the country. But the political tide which was flowing strong in the Irish world of the fifth century had been flowing for several centuries, and continued to flow without any perceptible ebb until the heavy assaults of the Norse. The usurpation of Brian marked a definite period of ebb, but in Ulster low water was not registered until Hugh O'Neill bowed the knee to Mountjoy in 1603.

Indeed many of our modern political problems are merely the reactions and after-effects of this prolonged tidal flow, unique in our history. Let us try to outline its main movements. Looking back through the mists of antiquity the earliest historic features we can discern are those of a dynasty, racially known as the Clann Rudhraighe, ruling at Emania as early as the third century B.C. Little of its history is known, or will ever be known; but modern researches [1] establish a tolerable claim that its sway at one time extended as far south as Athlone. However, by the first century of our era a new power began to rise west of the Shannon, and menace the hitherto unrivalled Clann Rudhraighe.

No writer, as far as I know, has ventured to explain the secret of this remarkable rise of a new power within the island itself. The success of a new invader coming from outside, from a centre of higher intellectual and material culture, is easily understood. But here we have a people that grew to strength within the country itself, until conscious of their strength they burst eastward across the Shannon in a flood that eventually inundated two-thirds of the island, and maintained that inundation for fully a thousand years.

The modern Co. Roscommon was the cradle-land of this new power.[2] The character of this County may

[1] R. I. A. Proceedings, April 1917.

[2] It is not a little remarkable that when this power broke down after Brian's usurpation, Roscommon had a new family—the O'Connors—ready to assume control.

have been a partial cause of the rise and development of this power. *It is an inland island.* The Shannon and Lough Ree guard its eastern frontier of seventy miles. The Bradlieve and Curlew mountains, Lough Arrow and Lough Cé protect it on the north; while its western frontier is enclosed within Lough Gara, the river Lung, and the river Suck, leaving only a gap of less than ten miles without water protection, and a succession of small hills serves to fill this gap.

What did this mean? It meant that the flocks and herds of the inland region were safe, at a time when flocks and herds constituted the only wealth. Instead of guarding over 170 miles of frontier, its people had merely to watch a few fords and a few passes.

Then the County is singularly well suited for raising and carrying large flocks and herds. It is a limestone land, and most of it consists of upland plains or plateaux—Magh Luirg in the North, Magh Ai in the centre, Magh Finn in the south, Magh Glas in the east, and Magh Airthic in the west. It was a healthy country, full of nutrition for man and beast. Its people grew wealthy, became perhaps congested in numbers relative to the time, and needed an outlet. Across the Shannon were other and richer plains that could be won by stout hearts and doughty swords. So across the Shannon they pushed, not in a wild headlong dash, but carefully and steadily. Uisneach and Frewen were occupied, but these were merely halting places. Their objective was Tara.

Our earliest literature—the so-called Red Branch Cycle—pictures for us these people from Co. Roscommon engaged in an offensive campaign against Ulster. When the curtain rises, Ulster is already on the defensive. It is trying to hold the Boyne and the Meath Blackwater as its southern frontier. But all the historical allusions go to support the conclusions of the late De Vismes Kane that the whole of Meath once belonged to Ulster. "Sirna, the son of Dian, wrested the government of Tara from the

Ulta," say the *Four Masters*; while the *Book of Leinster* states that on the death of Macha "the Ulster supremacy over the land of Temair was crushed." The *Battle of Magh Lena* tells that Eoghan Mor commissioned his druid to go to "the two Kings of Uladh and tell them that Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar slew their fathers, and that it was Conn himself that placed them under slavish tribute and hard service, and that he wrested Teamhair and its appurtenances from them."

The dates assigned to these events cannot always be relied on; but it is clear that the earlier chroniclers had abundant warrant in tradition that Ulster had at one time exercised jurisdiction over Meath. In the *Tain*, when Meadbh upbraids Fergus for leading them astray through Teffia and Meath, Fergus replies that this land belongs to Ulster. Again we read: "Then did the men of Erin deliberate about going to ravage and lay waste Magh Bregh and Meath, and the plain of Conall, and the land of Cuchulainn." And they did ravage and harry Magh Bregh, and Muirtheimhne, etc. Several other such references could be cited to show that the tradition of Meath having belonged to Ulster was still fresh and active.

The *Tain* itself is really a story of defeat, veiled as far as can be under magniloquent descriptions of Ulster's heroes and Ulster's prowess in battle. But in *Cath Ruis na Righ* we are told that Connor MacNessa, after the battle of the Tain, was three fortnights during which he could not sleep and could scarcely eat. And when he was prevailed to reveal the cause of this to Cathbad the druid, he said: "Great reason indeed have I for it; for Meadbh assembled from the west the four great provinces of Erin, and carried off kine and raiment and gold and silver. She left not in our fair province wall or stead without ravage, nor fort in which they boasted not triumph, nor wall without fiercely burning it." This is the true story of the Tain: Queen Meadbh over-ran

and pillaged east Ulster, and escaped across the Shannon with her plunder, and the Ulaidh were unable to prevent her.

In the third century of our era we find Cormac Mac Airt established at Tara. He made friends with Leinster by marrying a Leinster princess, and by sending his son Cairbre to be fostered on the plain of the Liffey, and then he threw his whole force against Ulster. When he suffered a reverse he retreated not alone to Tara but west of the Shannon to recuperate and replenish his forces; and finally, with the aid of Munster, he smashed the Ulaidh in the epoch-making battle of Crinna.

In the next century, and almost an exact hundred years before the coming of St. Patrick, the three Collas overwhelmed the Ulaidh in the battle of Achaidh Leth Derg (between Castleblayney and Keady) and drove them across the Newry valley into Co. Down: they burned Emain Macha, and thus put an end to a dynasty that had held sway there for six centuries.

The Collas established the Kingdom of Oirghialla or Oriel, embracing the modern counties of Monaghan, Armagh and portions of Tyrone and Fermanagh.[1] Thenceforth we have the Ulaidh hemmed in in the counties of Antrim and Down, bitterly hostile to the Dail Chuinn, the dynasty that now ruled at Tara, of which the Collas were but an offshoot.

Having now disposed of Ulster the Dail Chuinn turned their attention to Leinster, and would in all probability have established securely their supremacy over all Ireland, but the mountain massif of Leinster proved their undoing. For centuries the struggle was carried on with indeterminate results. However, about the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. a great expansion of the Dail Chuinn took place. Two of Niall's brothers, Fiachra and Oilioll, established themselves by force in Lower Connacht, in what is now Co. Sligo, and somewhat

[1] In later times Louth belonged to Oriel, but not at this early period.

later Fiachra's descendants spread themselves over practically the whole of Co. Mayo. The descendants of another brother of Niall, the Ui Briuin, though a couple of generations later, conquered the old tribes of Breifne and spread themselves athwart the island from Drumcliff to Kells. Four of Niall's sons went north-westward and made swordland of the country from Drumcliff to Derry. The success of the Oirghialla aroused the jealousy of the ambitious monarchs of the Dail Chuinn, and from an early period these latter began to exact hostages from them. There were nine cantreds or divisions in Oriel, and it is highly probable that it was from the hostages of these nine territories that Niall got his *sobriquet* of *Naoi nGiallach*. The commonly-received explanation would appear to be a pompous invention befitting the pride of his descendants in later times. There are many indications of the mutual hostility between the Oirghialla and the Uí Neill kings. But slowly and relentlessly the pincers of the Uí Neill closed around the Oirghialla, until in the seventh century the Uí Neill established themselves in Armagh, and the chiefs of Clann Colla became vassals to the Uí Neill. The Uí Neill were now the undisputed leaders of the Dail Chuinn, having in one way or another reduced all other branches of Conn's descendants to subordinate positions. They held this supremacy for over five hundred years, and ruled from Malin Head to the Slieve Bloom mountains and from the Atlantic to the Irish sea, with a more or less shadowy claim to High-Kingship over the remainder of the island.

St. Patrick arrived in the midst of this ruthless expansion of the Dail Chuinn. In the memory of the generation then alive large areas in the midlands, in Connacht, and in Ulster had been cleared of their ancient owners. The Calraighe, the Dealbhna, the Fir Domhnann and many other peoples of greater or lesser antiquity in the island were scattered into fragments, and so disposed geo-

graphically as to constitute no longer political forces of any account. The other areas in the middle and north of Ireland as yet untouched by the Dail Chuinn were filled, we may be sure, with apprehension, dread, and hate towards these rapacious conquerors.

St. Patrick's policy probably was to adopt a non-political attitude. But his doctrine was not one that could be construed into approval of such conquering. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you" was a rather awkward command for folk that had the power and the will to seize their neighbours' lands and properties.

Hence we should expect to find the tenets of Christianity more pleasing to the defeated folk than to the conquerors, and this would appear to have actually been the case. Laoghaire the High-King stoutly resisted St. Patrick's preaching and died a pagan. The founding of the Church in Trim seems to have been due to a British woman, wife of a local prince, who made friends with St. Lomman, also a Briton. But St. Patrick founded no church at or near Tara. Laoghaire and his son Cairbre are even charged with designing treacherous attacks on Patrick.

But when after a few generations a genuine Christian spirit developed among the Ui Neill, they grew ashamed of these evidences of hostility to Patrick and his teachings, and every effort was made to erase or explain away such records. So we should examine with a healthy scepticism later records of the dealings of the Uí Neill with St. Patrick, knowing that it was then the strong desire of the Uí Neill, especially of the churchmen amongst them, to appear in history as having been friendly to St. Patrick from the beginning. This will explain the erroneous entry in the Book of Armagh[1] implying that Laoghaire was converted by St. Patrick. The same is repeated in the Tripartite. Again the record

[1] Gwynn's ed., p. 39*b*.

that Laoghaire and his druids allowed the ancient laws of the land to be re-modelled according to Christian ideals represents the mentality of a time much later than the middle of the fifth century.

Similarly the story of the encounter of Patrick with Conall and Eoghan in Tirconaill, when he increased Eoghan's stature and cured his ugliness, has all the marks of a later fabrication. I believe that a critical examination of all these records—records, we must not forget, that were for 500 years in the keeping of persons of the Uí Neill line, or those receiving favours from them, or those friendly to them—would reveal evidences of silent tampering or suppression in the interest of this great dominant stock. "Forgery," says Dom Gougaud, "was rampant all through the middle ages." Ferdomnach's name was erased in the Book of Armagh to make it appear that the book was Patrick's autograph.

Hence, I submit, this gives us the "lean to" of the documents as far as there is any tendency in them to depart from the perpendicular of truth. But it gives us more. As Reeves remarks, "St. Patrick's life owes much of its complication and uncertainty to the length of the interval which elapsed between his death and the recording of his acts." Why was this? When Adamnan essayed the life of Colmcille a century after the latter's death, he had, as Reeves points out, three biographical documents already to his hand. Brigid was later than Patrick, yet Muirchu's father wrote a life of Brigid, presumably a generation before Muirchu began to write about Patrick. Why such negligence in his case?[1]

Dr. MacNeill points out that Tirechan in his careful topographical narrative skips Oriel, and he gives for this an explanation that most people will agree with—namely that St. Patrick's acts in Oriel had already been fully written up, that there must have been another Book of

[1] Of course the Tripartite states that Colmcille compiled the miracles of St. Patrick, but this is more than doubtful.

Armagh long since lost. It cannot have been lost when Tirechan wrote, about 700 A.D. Was it lost when Ferdomhnach transcribed the Book of Armagh about 807 ? Very probably it was, as Armagh was burned in 770 and 778. But after 700 lives of St. Patrick began to be plentiful. As Zimmer, with his sceptical opinion of St. Patrick, puts it : " St. Patrick was resuscitated in the seventh century under the influence of a specific tendency." What was this tendency ? I submit that it was political. St. Patrick and his memory must have been always popular with the common people, who remembered the wells he blessed, the churches he founded, and who treasured traditions of him which Tirechan collected in those districts with which he was acquainted. But it was different with the nobility and educated amongst the Uí Neill. Michael O'Clery gives a full list of the saints descended from these personages, and it is only in the third generation from the time of St. Patrick, that is the great grandsons of his contemporaries, that we begin to get Uí Neill saints. I believe it was only in Oriel and Uladh (then Antrim and Down) that Patrick was appreciated at first by high and low alike.

St. Patrick founded Armagh as his chief see. Doubt has been thrown on this, but Bury gives many sound reasons for crediting the tradition. The Uí Neill showed all through their career sound political wisdom, especially in dealing with subject peoples. When Christianity had become general, say about the close of the sixth century, they must have seen how awkward it was for them that the Church in Ireland should be ruled from a centre outside their jurisdiction. Under such conditions they would naturally refrain from doing anything to strengthen the claims of Armagh as a national religious centre. Besides, from the middle of the sixth till the middle of the seventh century the Uí Neill themselves were dominated by the Cinel Conaill. Six out of nine Ard-righs who ruled during this period were of the Cinel

Conaill. These were not alone antipathetic where Patrick and Armagh were concerned, but were particularly keen on magnifying the fame of their great kinsman Colmcille and on fostering and extending his monastic foundations.

The Oriel people, on the other hand, would pursue the opposite policy, would write up and publish as widely as they could St. Patrick's relations with themselves, and would emphasise the importance of Armagh. But the Uí Neill saw clearly that the solution of the difficulty for them was to seize Armagh and make it their own. This they appear to have done some time, probably late in the seventh century.[1] We know they finally smashed the Oriel people in 827, but they must have had possession of Armagh long before; for this battle of Leith Camm, fought a few miles east of Armagh, appears to have been the result of an offensive attack by the Oirghialla, in alliance with their old enemies the Ulaidh, in order to recover their lost city.

The Cinel Eoghain in the race for secular power had, by the time they got possession of Armagh, outdistanced the Cinel Conaill; so they had now a double urge to advance the claims of Armagh: first, on broadly national considerations, and second, in order to stem the Columban advance, for they had no saint of their own line to match the great founder of Iona. Is it not then somewhat suggestive to find a boom of Patrick's fame from this onward? And when we remember how John de Courcey, having established himself at Downpatrick, got Jocelin to write a lengthy life of St. Patrick—which incidentally enhanced the importance of Downpatrick—the parallel seems very close.

Let us recapitulate: Oriel holds Armagh and writes the first record of St. Patrick's acts. During this period Meath, Connacht, and the Ui Neill country in the north are strangely silent about the Saint. Munster and

[1] Mrs. Green in *History of the Irish State*, p. 302 says: "Armagh was encroached upon by the Cinel Eoghain about 600 A.D." Tantalisingly enough she does not quote her authority for this.

Leinster had relatively little to do with St. Patrick, yet the second attempt at recording his acts comes from Leinster—Muirchu's, a work which Dr. Gwynn tells us was written with no apparent bias and in no assignable interest. Not so Tirechan, who comes next. Tirechan was a Connacht man, but the inspiration to compile a record of St. Patrick's acts would appear to have come from St. Ultan, who finished up his days in Ardbraccan near Navan. St. Ultan must have spent part of his life among the Cinel Eoghain ; for his holy well, near Moville in Inishowen, is still regarded with veneration, and its efficacy in the case of sick children is a local article of belief.

Tirechan's " Life " is an *ex parte* compilation. Its author's aim is to show that practically all Ireland owes obedience to Armagh. He is expressly hostile to Columban encroachments, and he omits the record of St. Patrick's acts in Oriel. All this suits Cinel Eoghain interests admirably. Ferdomhnach transcribes the work in 807.

Now it would be unpardonably rash to assert that either Ultan, Tirechan, or Ferdomhnach received any promptings from the political leaders ; but their actions suit the political weather of these centuries so fittingly that a suspicion of some connexion, understanding, or sympathy is justifiable.

So much for politics and recorded history. A few words now as to the possible effect of politics on St. Patrick's own actions.

We are told how many years he spent in Connacht and Munster, but not how many he spent in Ulster. East Ulster was his headquarters, and he always returned there after his various excursions through the rest of the country. This was hardly what we should expect. Meath was then the centre of the biggest political power in the country. Ulster only contained a conquered, humiliated, and no doubt disgruntled people, the Ulaidh,

and a triumphant colony already under suspicion, and jealously watched from Tara.

The reason seems to be that despite their defeat the Ulaidh were the most cultured and civilised people then in Ireland. We owe to them the beginnings of our first native literature, a literature that in some respects has never been surpassed by anything else in the native tongue. Dr. MacNeill has shown that the first impulse to compile history proper began in Ulster. We hear a lot about the poets, their tyranny and exactions. The poets were mainly Ulster poets : twice we are told that the King of Ulster interceded for them : evidently they were friendly to the Ulaidh. Poets, when unbought, are ever found on the side of the weak and oppressed. They would be hostile to the conquering Ui Neill kings, and hence the latter wished to suppress them. To make out a case for suppression they must be charged with various acts of wrong-doing. These charges in the sixth and seventh centuries remind one of the charges of Tudor officials in Ireland against the Irish poets of their day.

Patrick noted all this, and he fixed his own see in the ancient capital of Uladh. Though ruled now by a prince of the Clann Colla, it must have preserved a lot of the culture developed in the six centuries of its triumphant freedom. No other consideration but this could have determined Patrick to fix his see in one corner of the island, so far from the centre of power. Tara, on the other hand, was ruled by a military caste, who believed in the principle that might is right, and Patrick knew that his infant Church could not flourish on this doctrine ; so he chose as a better seed-bed the milder and more intellectual atmosphere of Ulster.

Then coming near the end of his days he repaired to Saul in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick, the new capital of the Ulaidh, and there ended his pilgrimage. Muirchu states that he was buried in Downpatrick—then Dun-leth-glaisse—and Tirechan says Saul was the

place of his interment. It is rather curious that the exact place of burial was a matter of doubt about 700. The Clann Colla of Armagh and the Ulaidh each claimed his remains. But it is very unlikely that the Ui Neill took part in the quarrel, though Muirchu and the Tripartite both state it. Except they were called in to assist their kinsmen, the Ui Neill of that time had no interest in upholding Armagh. And it looks suspiciously like a projection back from the historic conditions of later centuries. The steers selected to decide the issue were taken from "a place called Clocher to the east of Findubrec. Dr. Newport White states[1] that "neither of these places has been identified." They are both there still at Downpatrick—Clogher about a mile to the south-east and Finnabrogue a mile or more to the north or north-west, while Saul lies almost between them. An equivalent spelling of Findubrec is Finnubrec, from which the modern Finnabrogue is easily derived. Findubrec is the form given by Muirchu in the Book of Armagh—not Findubair, as translated by Dr. White, following the Tripartite probably. Clogher is now to the south-east of Finnabrogue, but the names may not cover exactly the same area as when Muirchu wrote; and in any case ancient writers were rarely scientifically accurate in their compass directions.

The treatment of the subject given above is merely meant as a rough outline of the position, in the hope to establish a plea for the study of Patrician history and Patrician documents in the light of the secular history, taking the two not as parallel lines, but rather as a piece of Irish interlacing, all mixed up and interwoven with each other. This, I submit, has not been done so far.

H. Morris.

[1] *St. Patrick and His Writings* (1920), p. 136.

JOHN REDMOND AND ENGLISH POLITICIANS

BY DENIS GWYNN

AMONG those of us who were the early students of the National University there was, I believe, an almost universal impression that John Redmond was not only a tired politician but a sentimentalist who was constantly fooled by the duplicity of the English Liberals. Most of us, I believe, regarded him as being so incurably sentimental that he actually believed in those ardent professions of sympathy with Irish Nationalism in which the Liberal leaders indulged so copiously when their fortunes depended upon Nationalist support. Having been entrusted with all Redmond's political papers for the purpose of writing his biography, I am asked to contribute to STUDIES a candid account of Redmond's relations with English politicians. I gladly take the opportunity of saying that, after an exhaustive study of Redmond's papers and correspondence, I find that any such impression was grotesquely remote from the truth. Even before the war Redmond's shrewd judgment and remarkable strength as a negotiator were absurdly underrated; and justice will perhaps never be done to the chivalrous self-sacrifice and the perseverance with which he devoted his whole life to a singularly thankless task.

Many of Redmond's careful memoranda of his interviews and correspondence with English politicians will be included in the forthcoming biography. No one who reads them can possibly persist in the belief that he was under any illusions as to the motives and the sincerity of the men with whom he had to deal. Generosity was undoubtedly his chief characteristic, and he was the last man to impute unworthy motives to anyone. But he had learned very early in life that politics was not

a matter of sentiment but of hard bargaining. In regard to the English Liberals particularly, he never lost his early conviction that they would not attempt anything unless it was to their own advantage, and that they were more timid than their political opponents in pursuing any enterprise they took up. He entered politics as an ardent disciple of Parnell; and to the end of his life he was absorbed in the traditions of Parnell, constantly asking himself how Parnell would have faced any situation that arose.

His first meeting with Parnell was in County Wexford, when Parnell had just returned from his mission to America in 1880. A general election had been decided upon during his absence, and Parnell had no time to put candidates everywhere in the field. Even in Wexford he met with a fierce reception; and many of his supporters, including John Redmond as a very young man, were injured in the rioting of the election. The rioting, it is now curious to recall, was caused not by the Unionists but by the adherents of the Clan-na-Gael, who detested Parnell's programme of parliamentary agitation. In the years that followed, Parnell quickly established his following all over Ireland, and the Nationalist Party soon had the whole country behind it, pledged to pursue a policy of independent opposition at Westminster until one or other of the English parties introduced a Bill to establish self-government in Ireland. Redmond was elected to Parliament in 1880 for one of the seats in his own county Wexford; and the remainder of his life was consecrated to the programme which Parnell had set before the country, and which the country continued to pursue with an astonishing tenacity of purpose.

From Parnell Redmond learned at Westminster that neither of the English Parties took the slightest interest in Irish affairs, having more than enough political questions of their own to occupy them. From Parnell also he learned that, of the two rival parties, the Tories were

probably more likely to offer an acceptable settlement, if they could be compelled to take an interest in Ireland by tactics which made parliamentary government impossible until the Irish question was out of the way. From Parnell also he learned to distrust Gladstone more than any man living; and in the protracted debates in Committee Room 15—when Parnell had made the issue turn largely upon whether he or Gladstone was to be believed concerning his account of the conversations at Hawarden —Redmond stated defiantly, in answer to Healy and others, that he would not dream of believing Gladstone's word in contradiction of Parnell.

For ten years after the "split" the chief ground of disagreement between Redmond as a Parnellite and the anti-Parnellite majority was his refusal to trust the English Liberals. The sterile controversies among the Irish leaders in those years have little interest now-a-days; but no true appreciation of Redmond's character or policy is possible without reference to his persistent attitude towards English Liberalism during all that time. When the two Irish sections were re-united under his leadership in 1900, he issued a manifesto which re-stated what had been the policy of Parnell throughout. "The opportunities," Redmond wrote, "which the party system in Great Britain by its very nature opens up to an Irish party, numerous, united, constant in attendance, and independent of all British parties, are known to us by experience. Ministries have been made and unmade by such a party; benefits have been wrested from reluctant and even hostile majorities; policies have been altered to the advantage of Ireland by the steady and sustained compulsion of an Irish parliamentary force known to speak for the nation, acting as a single man, and taking advantage of every occasion of attack and defence."

That was his policy and his belief all through his career. In so far as he had any preference in the matter,

I certainly gather the impression that he would have preferred to make a bargain with the Tories in England rather than with the Liberals. He knew from long experience that, if such a bargain could be made, it would be on a more generous basis than the Liberals would ever offer. Moreover, a bargain with the Tories would have eliminated all effective opposition, both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. He did actually entertain hopes of such a settlement by consent during the last phase of George Wyndham's Chief Secretaryship. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act was a far more generous measure than anyone had ever hoped for; and when the same group of moderate Unionists who had helped Wyndham to evolve that scheme and carry it through, came out with a manifesto in favour of Devolution, their advance was so rapid that Redmond had real hopes of inducing them to go the whole way. But Wyndham at once repudiated the Dunraven policy; and Redmond then threw the whole weight of his Party against the Unionists. The correspondence during that period reveals the remarkable skill with which he and Dillon conducted their tactics at Westminster, until they had within a short time brought down the Balfour Ministry.

The immense success of the Liberals at the general election which followed made Redmond realise more than ever how little the professions of sympathy by Liberal Home Rulers could be relied upon. The Liberal Unionist group were so strong that Campbell-Bannerman, who was a genuinely convinced Home Ruler, did not even attempt to form a Cabinet of Home Rulers. The Liberals continued in office until the outbreak of war in 1914, and Redmond had to maintain a persistent pressure upon them at every stage. His relations with them involved a double difficulty. Nationalist pressure might at any time create a secession of the old Liberal Unionist element; while the Nonconformists, who were the back-

bone of the Liberal Party, were always specially susceptible to the exploitation of religious prejudice. They were deeply resentful of the Nationalist Party's opposition to the English Education Bill in 1906, which the Liberals at once attempted to carry. It was significant that the defence of the Catholic schools in Great Britain was the only important English measure with which the Nationalist Party ever concerned itself; and that Redmond handled the situation so skilfully that he not only saved the Catholic schools from great injury, but retained the support of the English Nonconformists for the Home Rule campaign.

English politics indeed scarcely interested Redmond, apart from his intimate interest in every phase of the parliamentary struggle to which he had devoted himself. Yet, paradoxically, his greatest positive achievement through the House of Commons was a matter which has affected English, much more than Irish, politics. It was entirely due to his relentless pressure upon an unwilling Liberal Party that the veto of the House of Lords was abolished, as a necessary step towards the establishment of self-government in Ireland. Redmond had no illusions whatever on the matter. In the Liberal Cabinet up to 1909 the two Ministers upon whom he could count most for support were John Morley and John Burns. Through Morley most of the critical negotiations up to that time were carried on; and it was only after great pressure from Redmond, and the plain threat that the Irish vote in Great Britain would be thrown against the Liberals, that Asquith was compelled to include a promise of a Home Rule Bill in his programme speech, after Lloyd George's famous Budget of 1909 had been thrown out by the House of Lords.

So far from regarding Asquith and his colleagues as being ardent enthusiasts for Home Rule, Redmond had to force them to make Home Rule part of their programme. His support brought the Liberals back with a sufficient

majority; but the sudden death of King Edward VII transformed the situation. Redmond was confronted with the immediate prospect of both English parties uniting to throw off his dictation. King George was faced with a constitutional crisis immediately he began his reign; and both parties agreed to suspend open conflict over the House of Lords and to attempt an agreed solution through the Constitutional Conference. Asquith's love of compromise became Redmond's most formidable difficulty. The Conference almost reached agreement on the basis of proposals formulated by Lord Ripon; and it broke down only because the Unionist leaders refused to admit the Irish question as being one which could be settled without the consent of the House of Lords. Once again it was Redmond's threat of opposition which had prevailed; and Asquith was forced most reluctantly to appeal to the electorate again for a mandate to introduce the Parliament Act which destroyed the veto of the House of Lords forever.

By the time the Parliament Act had been carried and the Home Rule Bill was being prepared, Asquith and Redmond had reached a complete understanding of each other. They did not meet often, and their relations were always extremely formal. But Redmond had learned from experience that Asquith was remarkably frank and straightforward in negotiation, and that he never promised more than he honestly expected to carry out. If difficulties arose, however, he would always look for some method of compromise; and if vehement opposition was likely, he always shrank from provoking it. Provided he could be kept up to the mark, he could be relied upon to carry his Cabinet with him. The Cabinet included some very important members like Sir Edward Grey and Lord Haldane who had been Liberal Unionists and who resented the Nationalist dictation very keenly. But they were counterbalanced by a number of younger men with driving power; while Lloyd George's restless

temperament was always stimulated rather than discouraged by the likelihood of opposition.

The widespread belief that English politicians are masters of political duplicity finds curiously little confirmation in the story of Redmond's dealing with Asquith's Cabinet. There was no lack of duplicity to reckon with; but the men who could not be trusted were not Englishmen. The Minister of whom Redmond saw most was Augustine Birrell, who was naturally the liaison officer between the Cabinet and the Nationalists. A real affection grew on both sides from their constant dealings with each other; and there can be few precedents for the extraordinary frankness with which Birrell kept Redmond informed of everything that concerned his Party. No politician in history has ever been less capable of deceit than Mr. Birrell; and his outspokenness had long before made it plain that he could never become a Party leader, as had been thought possible when he first made his name at Westminster.

If one recalls the principal figures in that Liberal Cabinet before the war, the personal integrity of the members who were most thoroughly English is quite remarkable. Sir Edward Grey had always been reluctant to enter politics, and his great prestige was due to his absolute honesty and courage as much as to his outstanding diplomatic abilities. Morley was a much more sophisticated character, and always slow to commit himself either in speech or in writing; but in English public life he had long been regarded as a champion of fearless truthfulness. John Burns was generally regarded as being intoxicated with the dignity conferred upon all British workingmen by his own elevation to Cabinet rank, but no one doubted his word. Asquith himself was too fastidious and too indolent to deceive anyone deliberately. Among all the leading Englishmen in the Cabinet there was no one who inherited the Gladstonian aptitude for self-deception and for justifying tortuous conduct.

Mr. Churchill will probably occur to students of English politics as being in a different category. But Redmond's dealings with Churchill reveal him also as having been far more frank than may be generally believed. It was Churchill who first created the cleavage in the Cabinet in favour of separate treatment for east Ulster; but in fairness it should be said that he informed Redmond of his personal views before he had taken any steps inside the Cabinet. He had special reasons for being closely interested in Ulster, because he had written his father's biography, and he knew the inner history of Lord Randolph's famous excursion to Belfast when he invented the ridiculous slogan: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." Quite early in the Covenanting campaign in Ulster, Winston Churchill went to Belfast to hold a Home Rule meeting. He intended to explain his own conversion to Home Rule in the same City Hall where his father had launched the Orange campaign against the earlier Home Rule Bill. He had inherited considerable sympathy with the Orangemen, and he was impressed by his visit to Belfast. Soon afterwards he wrote to Redmond privately to tell him of his own conviction that separate treatment, at least on a temporary basis, would have to be given to the counties which had Unionist majorities.

The same frankness, however, was certainly not evident in Mr. Lloyd George. Not until long afterwards did Redmond know that Lloyd George had actually proposed to exclude east Ulster from the Home Rule Bill when it was being framed. Before long he and Churchill were devising schemes for that object in the Cabinet. Redmond's information concerning what happened at Cabinet meetings was always scanty. Birrell, who kept him informed of all decisions, was strictly scrupulous about guarding the sworn secrecy of Cabinet discussions. Redmond's information on such matters usually came through T. P. O'Connor, who was an un-

rivalled collector of political gossip through long training in parliamentary journalism, and who made it his business to keep Redmond constantly informed. I confess that I, for one, had never imagined "T. P." to have been capable of such tireless devotion as is evident in the innumerable letters written by him, at all hours of the day or night, to keep his leader informed of anything that might conceivably be useful.

T. P. O'Connor's sources of information, however, were often far from reliable. A very close association existed at that time between Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Reading (or, as he then was, Sir Rufus Isaacs) and the Master of Elibank, who was the Liberal Chief Whip. With these three "T. P." was on intimate terms. A more sophisticated trio could scarcely be imagined than this Scottish laird, Welsh attorney, and Hebrew barrister. "The Master," as he was generally called, was the most active wirepuller at Westminster, with an ingratiating manner which appealed strongly to "T. P." As Chief Whip he was the repository of every secret; and he also had control of the Party funds, which through him became involved in the Marconi scandal a few years before the war. "T. P." was much too experienced a reporter to accept at its face value everything that was told him by a Party Whip, even when they were intimate friends. But he derived a vast amount of information from this curious Scotsman from day to day; and a great deal of it was of real value, although at times his information appears, in the light of subsequent revelations, to have been even deliberately misleading.

Redmond himself was in no need of the incessant warnings from John Dillon to be on his guard against accepting all that T. P. O'Connor reported without close scrutiny. "T. P's." close friendship with Lloyd George before the war provided another useful channel of information, but Redmond had had one earlier experience in dealing with Lloyd George which he never forgot. A

" misunderstanding " arose over the concessions to Ireland in regard to spirit duties under the famous Budget of 1909, which Redmond resented so deeply that he formally reported the matter in a written protest to Asquith. It was the first of many similar conflicts, of which the last and the most exasperating was to occupy the closing months of Redmond's life. His attitude towards Lloyd George until the outbreak of war was always suspicious; but he relied upon Asquith to tell him quite frankly how matters stood if any serious trouble arose. And, on the whole, both the record of events and Redmond's private papers show that his trust in Asquith's honesty—quite apart from Asquith's reluctance to face controversy, which Redmond knew well and always bore in mind—was not misplaced.

With the outbreak of war, however, the whole position changed. Kitchener inevitably exercised a greater authority at the outset than any other member of the Cabinet where military questions were concerned. For some months he could not be brought under the usual restrictions of Cabinet discipline. Asquith in his recollections describes several Cabinet meetings at which Kitchener and Churchill occupied much time in hot discussion, Kitchener claiming to know all about Irish politics and Churchill attempting to teach strategy to Kitchener. For Redmond that situation was disastrous. He could rely upon Asquith to accept his advice on most Irish questions, and Asquith made several public announcements which would have satisfied Irish opinion if they had been acted upon. Asquith readily gave in Dublin the same pledges in regard to Irish recruiting which he gave in the other principal cities which he visited; and he actually wrote to Redmond to say that an Irish Army Corps was to be formed at once. But Kitchener was able to stultify his promises by blocking matters in the War Office. He could, and did, constantly say that he was too much occupied with the military situation to attend

to Irish matters at once. It had required tremendous efforts to persuade Asquith to place the Home Rule Bill on the statute book in September, and the delay in that matter was greatly aggravated by the failure to redeem Asquith's many pledges which Kitchener refused to carry out.

Redmond's position had become increasingly precarious since the beginning of 1914. The Unionist campaign in England had been conducted with great ability, and the sectarian issue had been exploited so successfully that many of the Liberal Nonconformists would have refused to support military measures in Ulster if trouble had arisen there. In the light of after events it is hard to doubt that, if a general election had been held early in 1914, the Unionists would have swept the constituencies in Great Britain on the cry of " Hands off Ulster." The Liberals had been increasingly uneasy at the prospect of provoking civil war in Ulster, and they were impatient to get the Home Rule Bill disposed of. Redmond had realised fully how dangerous the position was growing; and once the war came, his dominating position in Parliament disappeared completely. Liberals, scarcely less than the Tories, had resented his dictation for the past five years, and there was no sympathy with Irish Nationalism from that time forward.

For nearly two years Redmond could only wait for his opportunity. When he had committed Ireland to support the Allies in the war, he had assumed, like everyone else, that the war could not last more than one year at most, and that it would probably be finished within six months. On that assumption he would have brought into existence a large army of trained volunteers, whose continuance as a regular military force would be accepted as permanent. The prohibition against the raising of any Irish armed force which had been included in the Home Rule Bill had already been thrown over; and there was every reason to expect further large improve-

ments in the Bill. At the same time he believed that military comradeship in the war would have done more to bring North and South together than anyone could have hoped within several generations.

But Kitchener's deliberately anti-Irish policy at the War Office and Asquith's inability to dominate the policy of a Coalition Government had played havoc with all Redmond's calculations, while the War dragged on with an always receding prospect of peace. The parliamentary methods which Parnell had evolved in the early eighties were never designed for dealing with a Coalition Government in England. They had assumed always that the party system would continue in English politics, and that the strength of the Nationalist Party would depend upon playing off one party against the other. Once they combined, the power of the Nationalists vanished, and Redmond knew better than most men how little could be expected from the memory of sentimental associations in the pre-war years. On the other hand, he knew that Asquith had spent four most strenuous and difficult years in carrying first the Parliament Act, and then the Home Rule Act at the dictation of the Nationalists; and that the Liberals were not likely to stultify their own record by abandoning what they had laboured so long to achieve.

His chance came quite unexpectedly as a result of the Dublin rising in Easter Week 1916, when the war—which had done so much to defeat his hopes—suddenly produced new and powerful factors in favour of an immediate settlement. It had seemed inevitable until then that the Home Rule Act could not possibly become operative until the war was over. But the revulsion of feeling which followed upon General Maxwell's military administration in Ireland created an overwhelming pressure from the United States in support of an immediate settlement. America was still neutral, and more sympathetic towards Germany than towards the Allies. The sanguinary

suppression of the Dublin rising had produced a new wave of fierce anti-English feeling in the United States, after several years during which Irish-American influences had virtually ceased to count. Demands for an immediate settlement poured into Whitehall, and Asquith undertook a personal visit to Dublin to explore the possibilities.

In appointing Lloyd George to carry through the negotiations after his return from Dublin in May 1916, Asquith was genuinely hopeful of achieving success. Lloyd George was by far the most resourceful negotiator in the Cabinet, and had already succeeded in settling many highly controversial disputes on labour questions. Moreover, the desire for a rapid settlement with Ireland, as a contribution towards the progress of the war, was so strong in all parties that Lloyd George was offered the opportunity of his life for winning a great personal success. The Unionists were as anxious for a settlement as were the Liberals. All alike were utterly weary of the Irish problem, and appreciated the disastrous effects of the recent policy in Dublin upon American opinion. The crucial question was to satisfy the Orangemen and the enormously powerful influences which supported their hostility to inclusion under an Irish Parliament.

Long experience had convinced the Nationalist leaders that Lloyd George required the closest watching in negotiation. His quick enthusiasms, and his equally quick changes of attitude, were well known; but his personal ambition counted for much. In the situation which had arisen he had the strongest reasons for accomplishing a settlement by consent, and the presence of so many Unionists in the Coalition was a guarantee that there would be no serious resistance if the Ulster question could be settled. That Carson and his friends might go into opposition was always probable, but they would be subjected to great pressure to give their assent. Discussions took place in which Redmond made his position absolutely clear. He was willing to accept a strictly

temporary exclusion of the six counties, on the clear understanding that the whole settlement would be reviewed by an Imperial Conference when the war ended. As a guarantee that the exclusion of six counties would be only temporary, he insisted that the Irish members must be retained at Westminster in full numbers until the final settlement after the war. These terms were put before Lloyd George by Redmond, Dillon and Devlin, and accepted by him as the absolute basis of future discussions. Redmond's papers include a memorandum made by him at the time, in which he records that Lloyd George not only accepted the terms but declared that he would stake his own political life upon pushing the agreement through, if the Nationalists could obtain the assent of their own followers in the six counties. On that basis Devlin went to Ulster to explain the position, and at a fully representative Nationalist conference in Belfast, Redmond and Devlin both announced that they would retire from public life at once if the proposals were not accepted.

They had relied upon explicit promises from Lloyd George, with a full sense of the risk involved, but in the belief that his own interests would compel him to keep his promise. Lord Selborne had already resigned from the Cabinet in protest against the projected settlement; and it was well known that both Lord Lansdowne and Walter Long were also likely to resign if the settlement went through. But Lansdowne was so much older than most of his colleagues that they believed his resignation would matter little; and Long was not regarded as being of sufficient weight to split the Cabinet. Signs of trouble arose quickly when the consent of the Ulster Nationalists had been obtained, and when Carson also had got the consent of the Ulster Unionist Council to the proposals. What the Nationalist leaders did not know was that Lloyd George had discussed different terms with them and with the Orangemen. The Orangemen's consent

had been obtained on a basis of permanent exclusion, while the Nationalists had stipulated absolutely that the exclusion must be temporary. After weeks of delay Redmond was informed that the basis to which he had agreed could not be adopted, and Lloyd George threw in his lot with the majority of the Cabinet. The whole negotiation broke down, and Lloyd George, convincing himself without difficulty that his presence in the Cabinet was indispensable, forgot all about his pledges and devoted his restless energies to other problems.

It was the most bitter disappointment of Redmond's life, and when the Asquith Ministry collapsed a few months later, to give place to a new Coalition under Lloyd George, he had lost all faith in further parliamentary negotiations. Information continued to reach him that America was pressing hard for an Irish settlement, and he still hoped that Lloyd George would be compelled by personal ambition to accede to the American demands. But he refused absolutely to be drawn into any further negotiations, and when he learned early in 1917 that Lloyd George was about to push through a Home Rule Bill with permanent partition, he prepared to resist it to the utmost. By accident he met a prominent Liberal peer who asked him what hopes he could see for an Irish settlement. He replied that the only possible solution was to leave the question entirely to a Convention consisting solely of prominent Irishmen of all parties, with full authority to frame an Irish constitution for all Ireland. That suggestion was conveyed at once to Lloyd George, and Redmond learned with astonishment that his suggestion was to be adopted. He welcomed it above all as a means of freeing the Irish problem from the entanglements of British politics; and, with his health rapidly declining, he threw his remaining energies into trying to make the Convention a success.

He could at least be sure that the principle of establishing an Irish Parliament—which had been contested

so fiercely until a few years before—was no longer even opposed. His chief aim was to prevent a settlement which would involve partition, and he was willing even to make large concessions if by so doing he could produce a settlement by consent which the Orangemen would be unable to refuse. Lloyd George had given absolute pledges in public that there were no restrictions upon the Convention's authority which would make partition inevitable. But according to Lord Cushendun, who was in the inner councils of the Orange leaders, they had been given absolute assurances in private, before they agreed to appoint some of their number to the Convention, that its decisions would not bind them and that permanent partition would be enforced. Lord Cushendun's statement to that effect in his "Ulster's Stand for Union" is so blatantly in contradiction with Lloyd George's formal promises that it is surprising that no reply has been forthcoming. But the whole previous and subsequent story leaves little room to doubt that Lord Cushendun's statement is true.

The last months of Redmond's life, when disappointments and ceaseless anxieties had shattered his constitution, were again occupied with vain efforts to keep Lloyd George to his promises. The Convention was notoriously out of touch with popular sentiment; but there had never before been such an assembly of prominent representatives of every phase of Irish life. After months of friendly discussion, agreement had been reached on so many points which were hotly contested before the war that Redmond's hopes revived. Reminding Lloyd George of his many public pledges to the Convention, and impressing upon him the effect which would be made in America by a successful issue of its labours, he pressed for a direct intervention by the Prime Minister to bring the Orangemen to a more reasonable attitude. But Lloyd George's replies only put forward one excuse after another for his failure to act when action was needed.

Redmond's health had broken down, and he died before the Convention concluded. And even after his death, when the Convention published its reports, Lloyd George once more frustrated its efforts by announcing that conscription was to be enforced in Ireland.

To say that Redmond trusted Lloyd George at any stage of their political relations would be wholly misleading. He did, in the spring of 1916, rely upon Lloyd George's solemn assurance that he would stake his political career upon carrying through the attempted settlement. But it was no personal faith in Lloyd George, but a conviction that Lloyd George's own interests would compel him to perform what he had undertaken. In the Convention also, Redmond believed that American pressure and the compulsion of world events would drive Lloyd George to carry out his promises.

Posterity will probably argue that Redmond ought to have realised that all further pursuit of parliamentary methods had by that time become futile. But Redmond's last years cannot be judged without reference to the much larger issues involved in his personal conviction that Ireland was obliged, both in her own interest and in honour, to throw her weight into the war against Germany. Had the Great War been delayed for even six months, there can be little doubt that his life's work would have been magnificently vindicated before the end of 1914. The temporary exclusion of east Ulster to which he had consented, in the belief that Ulster would soon wish to unite with the rest of Ireland, would have been a much less serious blow to national unity than the solution which became inevitable once Lloyd George became Prime Minister. It might indeed have been, as Redmond firmly believed, the quickest way of achieving that reconciliation which is still lamentably remote, and which was made vastly more difficult to accomplish after Redmond's carefully considered policy had been repudiated.

Denis Gwynn.

IRISHMEN BEFORE THE TRIBUNALS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION[1]

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

NOT since the beginning of the Revolution did so many perils threaten France as during the early months of 1793. After the execution of Louis the Sixteenth in January, all the monarchies and aristocracies of Europe, full of fear and hatred, had banded against her, and disaster followed disaster on the frontiers for the armies of the Republic. Civil war was threatening, had indeed already begun, in La Vendée and the West, while royalist risings broke out in the big towns of the South. At Paris Girondists and Jacobins, torn by jealousies and rancour, fought for supremacy, and the sittings of the National Convention were marked by tumultuous scenes and recriminations between these rival political factions. The Girondists, theorists and idealists mostly, holding the reins of power, had by their vacillating policy brought failure and chaos to France. The Jacobins, daring and practical, were advocating a bolder policy and maintained that only by ruthless measures could the country be saved from the dangers which threatened it.

Once more Danton, with his dauntless energy and patriotism, came forward to defend the nation in her need. At first he tried to effect a reconciliation between the two contending parties, begging them to cease their quarrels and reserve their energies and hatred for the common enemy. "No recriminations, no quarrels, and France is saved," he cried; and again later his voice rang out above the passions of the political arena: "The enemy is at our gates, yet we go on rending one another. Is a single Prussian slain by all our altercations?" His efforts met with no success, and he proceeded to advocate

[1] This article forms a chapter of a book, *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution*, to be published shortly by the Talbot Press, Dublin, and by Messrs. Ernest Benn, London.

that the only way to save France and preserve the benefits of the Revolution was by the establishment of a strong centralised government and the adoption of severe measures towards all enemies of the Republic. The first step towards the realisation of this was the proposal to establish a tribunal for trying all those who plotted against the security of the State or intrigued for the return of the Monarchy. Popular feeling was then growing more and more hostile towards royalist intriguers, and in March 1793 Danton in a speech of much fervour prophesied another September massacre unless such a body was set up.

> We have come to a point where the public safety requires drastic measures and terrible instruments. I can see no middle way between the ordinary law and a revolutionary tribunal . . . . Let us be terrible to prevent the people from being terrible. Let us organise a tribunal—not a perfect one, for such would be impossible, but the best we can—that the sword of the law may descend upon the heads of the nation's enemies.

This passionate harangue roused the Convention, and the setting up of a Revolutionary Tribunal was immediately decreed by the deputies. Its establishment was the first step in creating the Reign of Terror, whose chief instrument it became. A few weeks afterwards another powerful engine was brought into existence by the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety, which gradually assumed the supreme authority of government. Both of these bodies controlled the entire organisation of the despotic regime that for a year held the country in its ruthless grip. Death and desolation were spread far and wide, and deeds were done which defiled France and the cause of liberty. But the nation and the Revolution were saved.

The Revolutionary Tribunal, immediately after its establishment, began its work. The object of its institution was the summary punishment of all conspirators against the State. It was composed of judges, a jury, and

a public prosecutor, and there was no appeal from its decisions. During the twelve months of its existence—from the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1794—several thousands of all ranks, ages and conditions were arraigned before it, the large majority of whom it sent to death. In the end the terrible engine got beyond the control of its creators, and became at times a weapon of revenge in personal quarrels. Danton, who more than anyone was instrumental in its establishment, tried then to destroy it; but in the effort to do so he himself fell a victim of its workings. While he lay in prison awaiting trial, all its later excesses rose up before him and he cried out: "I ask pardon from God and man for the day I set up the Tribunal. I did not intend it to be the scourge of humanity, but only to prevent a repetition of the September massacres."

From time to time various Irishmen were tried before it, and all of them, with one exception, were found guilty and condemned to death. Dr. Edmund St. Ledger was the first of his countrymen to be tried by the dreaded Tribunal and the only one of them who escaped the fatal guillotine. St. Ledger came from Ireland to Paris for his education and was a student of the Irish College. Pursuing a course of medical studies, he afterwards qualified as a doctor, entered the French Colonial service and, during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, filled the post of Judge and official interpreter in the Island of Tobago in the West Indies. When the news of the fall of the Bastille reached the various French colonies there was much rejoicing among the mass of their populations, and insurrections, accompanied by much disorder, subsequently broke out among the natives. In 1791 St. Ledger, who was Commandant-General of the National Guard in Tobago, came to Paris, where the complicated Colonial question was then being warmly discussed at the Assembly. In August of that year he was appointed a Royal Commissioner and sent to St.

Domingo, the largest of the French colonies, to make peace there among the contending parties. Ten months afterwards he returned to Paris, and at a sitting of the Assembly read a report on the political conditions of the island which showed the failure of his mission.[1]

St. Ledger settled in Paris and, at the end of 1793, was placed under arrest on the information of the revolutionary committee of the Champs Elysées section. Popular feeling was then intensely hostile towards the *émigrés*, who were regarded with contempt and loathing as traitors to France. At this time, too, their secret agents and spies were plotting in Paris and elsewhere against the safety of the Republic. Drastic laws were decreed against them, and it was forbidden to help them, financially or otherwise, in their sad plight. St. Ledger was accused of giving a sum of 840 livres to a Madame Curcoisier, the wife of an *émigré*. Brought from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Revolutionary Tribunal, he replied to the usual questions that he was forty-one years old, a native of Ireland, a doctor by profession, and was living in France for twenty years. His examination by Fouquier Tinville, the Public Prosecutor, elicited the fact that, while he acted as Commissioner in San Domingo, an Irish resident named O'Gorman sold him four casks of wine. He did not, however, pay for this in full, as O'Gorman requested him to give 840 livres to Madame Curvoisier for her services as housekeeper when he lived in Paris. When evidence of the various witnesses had closed, the following question was submitted to the jury: "Is Edmund St. Ledger, native of Ireland, Doctor and Civil Commissioner in the Colonies during 1791, an accomplice of the conspiracy to trouble the peace of the Republic and to facilitate the entry of the allied troops of the tyrants into the territory of the Republic?" The reply was in the negative,

[1] See *Moniteur*, 4 June, 1792.

and St. Ledger was ordered to be immediately set at liberty.[1]

On the 4th of March 1794 General James O'Moran was brought before the Tribunal. Like so many others of the bravest and most loyal officers of the time, he fell under the suspicion in 1793 of carrying on intrigues with the enemy. On the fifth of August of that year Billaud-Varennes, the Representative who was sent from Paris to superintend the army in the North East, wrote to the Committee of Public Safety :—

> When passing to-morrow by Cassell, we will pay a particular visit to General O'Moran, so that we may inspect his camp and papers. If we have, as a result, the least suspicion of him or if his replies are equivocal, he will be immediately suspended and placed under arrest. Our colleague, Carnot, informs us that O'Moran is worthy of little confidence. This will make us still more circumspect regarding him, for a traitor at the head of our armies is the first enemy it is essential to get rid of.

Next day O'Moran was arrested, and seals were placed on his papers and correspondence. Early in 1794 he was sent a prisoner to Paris and in March was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. While in prison he sent a memorial to the Committee of Public Safety, pointing out the injustice of his arrest and reminding that body of his gallant record in the field against the enemies of France. The only reply its members made was to write across the memorial : " Send him to the Abbaye and the scaffold." For many months, indeed, before his arrest groundless accusations of intriguing with the treacherous Dumouriez and of receiving English gold were preferred against him.[2] On the night before his

[1] Arch. Nat. W. 308, Dossier 819. It may be mentioned that Dr. St. Ledger's son, Patrick, was Surgeon-Major to the Irish Legion established in 1803 in the French army.

[2] The charge of receiving English gold seemed to be founded on the famous note-book found at Lille, which was supposed to have belonged to a British spy. On the first of August 1793 the deputy Barère—who, it was the belief of many, concocted it for political purposes—read some of its contents at the National Convention. The names of several Irish officers occur in its entries, some of which ran : " Keep up with Keating, he is useful . . . . If Delat the Major can be depended on as the F. of O'Moran, he will be the proper person to tamper with him. Let no money be spared . . . . gave Hunter fifty pounds . . . . letter from Dillon . . . . "

trial he wrote to Fouquier Tinville, requesting that it should be postponed for the production of his letters and papers, which lay under seals and on which he depended to confound his accusers. At the same time he sent the following long letter to the Minister for War :—

Citizen Minister,

Without wealth or relatives or friends, my only consolation at present lies in an untroubled conscience and in that justice which I depend upon you to claim for me in order to refute the charges brought against me. I demand the verification of those facts, which alone must determine the opinion and judgment of all true Republicans on my civil and military actions. I am neither an intriguer nor an adventurer. I swear that my heart is entirely devoted to the sacred observance of the laws and decrees of the National Convention. I dare to assert, too, that the Republic does not possess within its frontiers a more zealous defender . . . . and my hands are as pure as my heart.

I ask you, Minister of the Republic, to furnish a detailed account, through the paymasters of the Army of the North, of the sums which I have spent as secret and extraordinary expenses. Their smallness will clearly show the principles of an honest and loyal Republican. Between my wife and myself I do not possess 14,000 francs in the world. Greed and love of glory do not go together.

If there ever entered into my head the shadow of a thought to betray the Republic, I would have followed the example of the scoundrels who have treacherously robbed and betrayed their country.

Forty-one years of irreproachable service, marked by severe battle-wounds, should establish my character. In all those military actions and expeditions which I have personally commanded I can congratulate myself that I have on all occasions overcome the satellites of despots and tyrants. I have not once met with check or defeat . . . .

There still remains with me a cherished hope of being able some day to shed my blood in the deliverance of my native land from the oppressive despotism of the savage English Government . . . .

I am informed, Citizen Minister, that I shall be brought before the Tribunal to-morrow to undergo trial. My defence is almost entirely contained in my correspondence and papers. I need witnesses, too, for that defence. I beg of you, therefore, to help

me to procure all those necessities, and I think that, after forty-one years service, I have some right to demand such an act of justice—and there is not a moment to be lost.

Salut, fraternité,
MORAN.

His demands were ignored, however, and on the following day he appeared before the Tribunal. At the preliminary interrogation he said, in reply to Fouquier Tinville, that his name was James O'Moran, age 59 years, a native of Elphin in Ireland, and a General of Division in the Army of the North.

Q. How long are you in the service of France ?

A. Forty-one years without interruption.

Q. Have you served in many Regiments ?

A. I have served only in the 87th Regiment (Dillon's).

Q. What rank did you hold before the Revolution ?

A. That of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Q. In what class were you born ?

A. In the class formerly called plebeian.

Q. Have you carried on any correspondence with Ireland since the Revolution began ?

A. No. All my immediate relations being dead for more than thirty years, I have not carried on any correspondence.

The interrogation so continued, but his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The remorseless Fouquier Tinville pressed the charge that the gallant and veteran soldier was guilty of traitorous action in favouring the enemy by thwarting the military manoeuvres of his troops. The jury responded to the sentiments of the dreaded prosecutor, and O'Moran was guillotined on 6 March 1794.[1] But the new France that arose out of the blood and tragedies of the Revolution, did justice to his memory when it engraved his name with those of her own great ones on the Arc de Triomphe of her capital.

[1] Arch. Nat. W. 335, Dossier 585. An Irish newspaper of the Revolutionary period, *The Cork Gazette*, gave regular and detailed reports of the meetings of the National Convention, the Jacobin Club, the Committee of Public Safety, etc. In its issue of 4 Sept., 1793, it contains this item : " Paris, Aug. 13.—General O'Moran, who lately commanded the camp at Cassell, is arrested on a charge of having entered into a conspiracy to betray the camp to the enemy. . . . "

Five weeks after O'Moran's condemnation another illustrious Irish officer, General Arthur Dillon, was arraigned before the same Tribunal. Since the autumn of the previous year he had been a prisoner in the Luxembourg, where at the end of March he was joined by his old friend and champion, Camille Desmoulins. During their trial before the Tribunal in the first days of April, Danton and Camille declared that they would plead only in presence of the members of the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety. When that sentiment was applauded by the crowd and a wave of sympathy passed over it for the accused, the fear of a popular rising in their favour filled the judges and jury with alarm. Some counter-move was necessary to inflame the minds of the people against the Dantonists, and the famous conspiracy of the prisons was invented. On the third day of their trial St. Just mounted the tribune at the Convention, holding in his hand a letter which, he said, revealed a sinister plot to surround the Tribunal, murder the judges and set the Dantonists at liberty.

The writer of this letter was La Flotte, a police spy who posed as a prisoner in the Luxembourg. He stated that while there he became particularly friendly with Arthur Dillon.[1] On the first day of the trial of the Dantonists, Dillon taking him aside asked him if he had any news of what took place that day at the Revolutionary Tribunal. On La Flotte replying that he had none, Dillon told him that the accused declared they would speak only in presence of members of the Convention and Committee, that the people had applauded this, and that he was afraid of the accused Dantonists being murdered by their enemies and of the September massa-

[1] The evidence of Amans, a secret agent of Robespierre in the Luxembourg, was also brought against Dillon. In a letter he stated: "General Dillon invited me to his room some days ago. I went and have been there two days in succession. I was not long without noticing that those who frequented the General's room were not revolutionaries. I pretended to be of their opinion in order to obtain information . . . . I believe there is a big conspiracy . . . . Dillon works in his room every night up to five or six in the morning."

cres being renewed in the prisons. He also said that, in the possibility of such an event, all men of head and courage should come together and defend themselves, that a plan had been formed by him with several hundred others, and that he would let La Flotte into the secret. Just then Dillon handed a letter to Lambert, a prison warder, for delivery to Lucile Desmoulins, which placed at her disposal 1,000 crowns to be used among the people outside. At a signal an organised band, headed by Dillon, was to break from the prison, surround the approaches to the Committee of Public Safety and the Tribunal, and assassinate patriots and judges.

This was the story of the plot as revealed by St. Just and others at a sitting of the Convention on the third day of the trial of the Dantonists. The assembled deputies unanimously passed the required decree depriving the accused of the right to plead, and within forty-eight hours the purpose of the plot was fulfilled when they were hurried to execution. Lucile Desmoulins was immediately placed under arrest, and a few days later she and Dillon, with a batch of twenty-four other prisoners, were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and charged with plotting against the Republic. On the eve of the trial the Public Prosecutor prepared a bitter indictment, in which Dillon was particularly impeached as the chief criminal.[1] Signed by Fouquier Tinville, it stated :—

> Since the day of the 10th August Dillon has been plotting against the Republic. When Louis the Tyrant was overthrown by the people, it was he who tried to compel citizens to swear fealty to him and who tried to nullify the victory of Liberty over Despotism. When Verdun was recaptured by the brave soldiers of France, it was he who, in league with the traitor Dumouriez, facilitated the retreat of the nation's enemies, and with whom he intrigued when he could have annihilated them on the very soil which they had desecrated. Finally, it was Dillon who had been the soul of all the counter-revolutionary plots since the establishment of the Republic . . . .

[1] Arch. Nat. W. 345, No. 676 (*Acte d'accusation de Fouquier Tinville*).

The trial began on the tenth of April 1794 and extended over three days. Most of the proceedings were taken up with the prison plot—the pretext that was seized on so opportunely to justify, after the parody of a trial, the execution of the Dantonists a few days before. The informer, La Flotte, was the chief witness, and he gave a detailed account of his conversations with General Dillon at the Luxembourg. When Dillon himself was brought forward for interrogation he denied La Flotte's version of what had passed between them. He admitted having spoken of the Dantonists' refusal to plead before the Tribunal—which, he said, was at the time a general subject of conversation throughout the prison. He acknowledged, too, having stated that every honourable and courageous man should defend himself in the event of another September massacre. And he admitted that he had written to the widow of Camille, but could not see how such an action was incompatible with the commonweal. Dumas, who was afterwards guillotined with Robespierre at Thermidor, was President of the Tribunal.

President (*to Dillon*).—Was a letter which you read to two citizens written by you ? Did you hand that letter to Lambert, who refused to accept it ? Did you then, on his refusal, cautiously remove your signature from it ? And to whom was that letter addressed ?

Dillon.—I addressed that letter to Camille Desmoulins' wife, to whom I was under many obligations for much kindness received from her. I wrote to her : " Virtuous woman, do not lose heart ; your affairs and mine are going well, and the guilty will soon be punished and the innocent triumph."

President (*to Lambert*).—Was this letter handed to you, Lambert, and did you accept it ?

Lambert.—Dillon asked me to deliver it at its address and removed his signature from it.

President.—Why did you accept it and why did you not give immediate information about it at the office ?

Lambert.—I tried in every way to get out of taking the letter ; but Dillon slipped it, unknown to me, into my pocket. As soon as I discovered this, I returned it ; but he tried to force me to carry out his commission. I persisted in my refusal,

and the letter could not have been received by anyone, for Dillon, embarrassed by my refusal and apprehending danger, tore it into tatters.

President (to Madame Desmoulins).—Did you receive that letter ?

Madame Desmoulins.—I received no letter of any kind.

* * * * *

President.—But you cannot deny at least that it was you who lighted the fire of revolt in the prisons ?

Dillon.—The witness [La Flotte] whose evidence has been given has misled the Tribunal, and I deny all the charges brought against me by him.

President.—Did you say that a plot existed to murder the members of the Committee and the extreme Jacobins ?

Dillon.—I said that I heard of such a project from Simon.

President.—Did you say the time was ripe to resist oppression ?

Dillon.—I said that if the September massacres were to be re-enacted in the prisons, it would be the duty of every brave man to defend his life and demand to be heard and judged before he allowed himself to be slain.

President.—Did you not send 3,000 livres to Madame Desmoulins ?

Dillon.—All such stories have been concocted by La Flotte. On the day I spoke to him, he was somewhat inflamed with drink; nevertheless he brought lemons to make punch. It is, therefore, not to be wondered that his brain, being somewhat excited on that day, has not a clear remembrance of what took place.

President.—Madame Desmoulins, did you receive 3,000 livres ?

Madame Desmoulins.—I received no money.

President.—Are you acquainted with Dillon ? Had you not some relations with him ? Did he not sometimes come to your house ?

Madame Desmoulins.—I saw Dillon occasionally. He obliged me in many ways, but he seldom came to my house.

As the trial proceeded, it became more and more evident how weak were the grounds on which the story of the prison plot rested. The Public Prosecutor accordingly changed his tactics and attacked Dillon for what he called his treachery in connection with the storming of the Tuileries on the tenth of August. He had condemned that event which overthrew the Monarchy and the Tyrant Louis, and in a proclamation to his army had

endeavoured to seduce his soldiers from their allegiance. To this Dillon replied that completely false information regarding what happened in Paris on that occasion had reached the frontier and was the cause of his mistake, that his motives were pure, and that he had, by every means in his power, helped the Revolution at all times. In his summing up at the end of the trial the Prosecutor again singled out Dillon for attack. "It is quite clear," he said, "that Dillon acknowledges all the intrigues attributed to him; he has tried in every way to minimise them and give them false interpretation. But the jury will be able to distinguish the truth from the falsehood which tries to cloak itself in a thousand subterfuges."

Arthur Dillon was sentenced to death with nineteen others, and never did the tumbrils bear a more motley batch to the guillotine. With the distinguished soldier was Lucile Desmoulins, their mutual friendship remaining unbroken to the end. As they waited to take their places in the fatal carts, Dillon, with his old courtliness, moved towards her and bowed: "I am sorry," she said to him, "to be the cause of your death." The Irish officer smilingly replied that the accusation brought against him was but a pretext, and proceeded to offer her his sympathy. "Look at my face," she said, "is it that of a woman who needs consolation?"—for she looked bright and radiant at the thought of soon meeting again her beloved Camille. They chatted till the tumbrils arrived, and then, say the contemporary chroniclers of the scene, "she bowed to Dillon with playfulness as if she were taking leave of him in a drawingroom," and the two friends parted forever. With them to the place of execution went the ex-Bishop Gobel, who had publicly abjured his sacred calling, trampling his crozier under foot, but now penitent and crying out "Long live Jesus Christ!" as the guillotine's blade descended upon him. With them also went Grammont the comedian, a butcher of the September massacres, who had insulted Marie

Antoinette on her sad journey to the scaffold; Chaumette, a criminal adventurer; an ex-nun, wife of the ruffian Hebert; others equally notorious, the dregs of the party of Père Duchesne . . . .

With head high and a soldier's bearing Arthur Dillon ascended the scaffold, his splendid and careless figure hushing into silence the howling mob. He dropped on his knees, and the fatal blade descended on him, "the bravest of all the gallant Dillons."[1]

One of the evils which the Reign of Terror had been established to cope with was the increasing number of spies that were intriguing in Paris and throughout France against the Republic. Pitt's gold was circulating freely, and from time to time some of his suspected agents appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Early in June 1794 two Irishmen, Patrick Roden and Thomas Delaney, were brought before it on a charge of espionage. In September of the previous year they had been arrested beside the camp of Nieuport, from which the commanding officer had sent them to Dunkirk. They were there brought before a Military Commission for trial. On interrogation Roden said that he came from Ireland to Ostend and from Ostend to Nieuport, and that he did not know in what country he was when he was arrested. He was not aware that France and England were at war nor that he was in French territory. Delaney's replies were equally naive—he was a weaver by trade and came to look for work, but did not know he was in France. Unlike his comrade, however, he "knew well that France and England were at war"; and on being asked why he had no passport, replied that "he did not know what a passport was." Both were sent for imprisonment to Paris and on the sixth of June appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal. In Fouquier Tinville's indictment

[1] Writing in *La Revue de Paris* (1910) the well-known historian of the Revolution, M. Masson, says that there is no foundation for the story that Dillon cried out *Vive le Roi!* on the scaffold. The story was probably concocted, in his opinion, after the Bourbon restoration.

Delaney was described as an Irishman serving in the English army, who said he deserted in order to serve the Republic in France. The charge proceeded that he and Roden appeared to come into French territory for one purpose only, *viz.*, to spy and intrigue there as the tools of the infamous Pitt—the last resource left to that enemy of France. The Public Prosecutor particularly stressed the charge against them of trying to seduce French soldiers and weakening their fidelity to their country. Both prisoners strongly denied the accusations. They were, however, found guilty of conspiring against the Republic and were immediately guillotined.[1]

Three days afterwards another Irishman, Francis Burke, was brought forward on a similar charge. Burke was only seventeen years old and had been a sailor on a ship *Le Superbe*. He was particularly charged with being a secret agent of England and with having said that it was absurd for private citizens to be conscripted for military service when there was a sufficient number of regular troops, while the further statement was attributed to him that "the English were a brave people." The prisoner denied these charges—he made the statement, he said, that the Irish were a brave people and that his father, who was Irish, had given loyal service to France. The Tribunal acquitted him of the charge with which he was accused, but ordered his detention in the prison of the Carmes till his twenty-first year.[2]

On the twenty-third of July Burke was, however, again brought before the Tribunal with two other Irishmen—General Thomas Ward and his servant John Malone. Ward, a native of Dublin, was an old officer of the Irish Brigade who had sided with the Revolution and, getting rapid promotion, rose to be General of the Brigade in the Army of the North. He fought gallantly in the campaign against the Austrians; but, like so many other distinguished officers, French and Irish, he

[1] Arch. Nat. W. 380, D. 876. [2] Arch. Nat. W. 382, D. 886.

fell under suspicion. Arrested in October 1793 he, with his servant John Malone, a native of Limerick, was conveyed to the prison of the Carmes. In June 1794 all the jails were filled to overflowing, and the authorities found it difficult to provide accommodation for the new prisoners arriving in increasing numbers. To meet the difficulty they resorted to an infamous plan. Police spies were sent into a number of the largest jails and pretended to discover plots and conspiracies among the prisoners. In due course large batches, charged with intriguing against the Republic, were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined.[1] The Carmes was one of the prisons in which a conspiracy was supposed to exist, and an actual incident there lent colour to it. A few of the prisoners, who had by chance found a rope in the belfry, made a ladder with which they tried to escape, but were discovered in the attempt. The result was that a batch of forty-nine, including the three Irishmen, Ward, Malone and Burke, were charged before the Revolutionary Tribunal with "trying to break from prison for the purpose of murdering the members of the National Convention and Committee of Public Safety." With the Irishmen there were arraigned for trial some of the most distinguished members of the French nobility, as well as notable army officers like General Beauharnais—whose wife Josephine, also a prisoner, subsequently became the Empress Napoleon. In the indictment General Ward was particularly accused as "an Irishman and an ex-General under Dumouriez and his accomplice," while Ward's servant, Malone, was mentioned as taking a leading part in the conspiracy. Forty-six of the accused, including the three Irishmen, were found guilty of "conspiring against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic and in carrying on corres-

[1] Some months later when Fouquier Tinville, the Public Prosecutor of the Terror, was himself arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal, one of the charges on which he was convicted and guillotined was that of inventing conspiracies in the various prisons.

pondence with its foreign and internal enemies."[1] They were guillotined on the evening of the trial.

On the same day an Irish priest, Abbé Peter O'Brennan, was tried. Refusing to take the constitutional oath of the clergy, he left the district in Compiègne where he was *Curé*, but returned after some time. He was charged with attacking the clergy who had taken the oath, with describing the districts as beggarly and starving, and with trying to preserve the title-deeds of the manors. Found guilty, he ascended the fatal scaffold on the same evening as his three fellow-countrymen.

During the Reign of Terror Revolutionary Tribunals were established, too, in various provincial centres throughout France. At Bordeaux an Irish priest, Father Martin Glynn, was tried for refusing to take the oath and was guillotined. At Angers William Bulkeley, the Irish Brigade officer fighting for the Royalist cause in La Vendée, was guillotined. At Nantes two other Irishmen, Dillon and O'Daly, serving under the same flag, met a similar fate, while Charles O'Sullivan was betrayed by his Republican brother to the terrorists in that town and was summarily executed.[2] At the other end of France a regime of bloodshed and terror was established in Arras by the notorious Joseph le Bon. Rivalling Carrier at Nantes in his ruthlessness, he sent five hundred victims to the scaffold during his short reign. Among them was Elizabeth Plunkett, who resided at Arras with her mother. Imprisoned early in 1792 for her royalist sentiments, she was moved from prison to prison where she was compelled to live, as she herself relates, " amidst dysentery and putrid fevers." Brought at last before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 6th February 1794, she was

[1] Arch. Nat. W. 429, D. 965.

[2] At this period in the South-West of France, two priests named O'Ryan, who do not seem to have been born in Ireland, were guillotined. During the Vendean War, too, Florence O'Byrne, the wife of an Irish gentleman living at Beauvoir, who espoused the Royalist cause, was guillotined on 15 Jan. 1794 after trial by a Military Commission at Les Sables. A woman of immense wealth, she was haughty and impenitent at her trial, and showed much bravery at her execution. Three of her sons were leaders of Vendean insurgent columns.

tried as "a fanatic, an aristocrat and counter-revolutionary." She was acquitted, but on the very next day was again placed under arrest. At the end of 1791 she had taken a leading part among the women of Arras in drawing up an address to Louis the Sixteenth, thanking him for vetoing the decree against priests who refused to take the oath. She was now accused of having been a signatory to the address and for the second time appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal. She prepared a written defence in which she maintained that no law against her supposed crime existed at the time of its committal. The Tribunal refused her permission to speak at her trial, and she was found guilty of having "prepared and circulated an address in which the traitor Capet was congratulated on having opposed his veto to the decree on the oath for priests." She was guillotined on the 13th June, 1794. The infamous Le Bon was frequently present at the execution of his victims, and he took a fiendish pleasure in prolonging their sufferings by reading to them bulletins of republican victories on the battlefield. On the day of her guillotining, he addressed Elizabeth Plunkett as she was ascending the scaffold: "Aristocrats like you must hear in their last moments the news of the triumph of our armies . . . ." She turned towards him and replied with indignation: "Monster! we though women can die bravely, but you will die like a coward." The official reporter of the Tribunal, commenting afterwards on her trial, wrote:—

> Five accused have been dispatched to-day. The first of the five, who wanted her feet to be on a level with her head, is a wretch animated with such anti-revolutionary sentiments that it is quite impossible to describe them. It is enough to say that, since I have been on the Revolutionary Tribunal, I have never seen such impudence as hers. Her counter-revolutionary sentiments were shown not merely in her replies but in her entire line of defence. The name of the wretch was Elizabeth Plunkett of Arras.

* * * * *

There were probably other cases of Irishmen who

appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal, of whom no official records exist. Thus it is stated in that exhaustive book, *Clan O'Toole*, that Luke O'Toole, a former Captain of the Irish Brigade and a Chevalier of St. Louis, was guillotined in the year 1793, but neither his place of execution nor the charge against him is given. Another unauthenticated case is that of John Comyn, a grandson of Michael O'Coimin the Gaelic poet of County Clare and the author of *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nOg*. Comyn was secretary to Baron de Breteuil, who was a zealous monarchist and played a prominent part in the Revolution. Joining his fellow-nobles the Baron left France, but his secretary was guillotined early during the Terror. And there is also the case of Abbé Donovan round whom a picturesque legend has been woven. The Abbé, who was born in Cork and was a Capuchin Friar, resided in Paris during the Revolution as chaplain to a noble family. Proscribed as aristocrats, this family fled from France to save their lives, and the Abbé remained in charge of the house and its treasures. Soon afterwards, however, he was arrested and condemned to death, and spent the night before the day fixed for his execution giving spiritual aid to his fellow-victims. Huddled into the tumbrils when morning came, they were hurried off to the place of execution. When the Abbé's turn came to mount the scaffold, an officer of the troops guarding the guillotine called out in the Irish language: "Are there any Irish among you?" "There are seven of us," said Father Donovan. "Then have no fear," replied the officer, who at once used his influence with the officials and saved the lives of his seven countrymen. After the revolutionary troubles Father Donovan returned to Cork, where ever afterwards, it was said, he chose for his special work the task of spiritually preparing prisoners condemned to death.

RICHARD HAYES.

THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII [1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

THE impediment of affinity in matrimonial cases has always been recognised by English law. Down to 1907 a man could not contract a legal marriage with his deceased wife's sister, and even then another fourteen years passed before recognition was accorded to any similar union with a deceased brother's widow. At present both the law of England and the Canon Law agree in treating affinity in the direct line as an insurmountable bar to marriage. A widower cannot take to wife either his step-mother or his step-daughter, and I may add that this last impediment of affinity *in linea recta* is one from which Rome never grants a dispensation.

Henry VIII's application to Pope Clement for an *annulment*—it was not in the modern sense a divorce—of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon turned, as everyone knows, upon the fact that she was his brother's widow. For clearness sake it will be necessary, I fear, to recapitulate something of the history. Born in 1485, Catherine, the daughter of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, was contracted in childhood to Arthur, Prince of Wales, the elder son of Henry VII. Arthur was nine months younger than herself; but in 1502, when he had just passed his sixteenth birthday, the Spanish princess was brought to England and married to him in November

[1] A paper lately read before the Thomas More Society—an association of members of the English bench and bar, meeting under the presidency of Lord Russell of Killowen. The publication of the fourth volume of Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *History of England* (Methuen), as well as his previous book on *Cardinal Wolsey* (Cassell), may perhaps excuse a revival of the subject of the Divorce at the present moment. While I am unfortunate enough to differ from Mr. Belloc's views as to several points of detail, and notably as to the purport of the "decretal commission," I can express nothing but admiration for his vivid presentment of the larger issues and for his judgment upon the attitude of Pope Clement VII.

at old St. Paul's, London. They set up their little court at Ludlow, on the Welsh borders, for this in those days was expected of a Prince of Wales. There Arthur died, apparently of the sweating sickness. five months afterwards, and though on more than one occasion they had slept together, Catherine, in Dr. Gairdner's phrase, " was left a virgin widow." The question, however, of the consummation of the marriage became at a later date a matter of unpleasant controversy.

Both Ferdinand and Henry VII were wily and avaricious diplomatists. The Spanish sovereigns, though they had only paid one instalment of the bride's marriage portion, at once demanded that Catherine should be sent back to them, and that the 100,000 scudos already delivered should be returned. Henry countered by suggesting that the Princess might wait in England until she could marry Arthur's younger brother, who at the time was eleven years old. Meanwhile Henry VII's own wife died. He was only forty-five, and he thereupon proposed that he should marry the young widow himself. Queen Isabella seems to have been genuinely horrified at the idea. It is probable that Henry was well aware that the marriage had never been consummated, but it seems that at that time the Spanish monarchs did not know this. In the end a treaty was drawn up and signed, by which Catherine was contracted to the new Prince of Wales, while the claim for the restitution of the dowry was abandoned. Also a dispensation for the marriage was obtained from Rome, about which later on I shall have a good deal more to say. A formal betrothal between Catherine and little Henry took place in London on June 25th, 1503. According to the terms of the treaty the marriage itself was to have been celebrated on June 28, 1505, the day the young prince completed his fourteenth year, but the nuptials did not then take place. On the contrary, the boy, on the very day before, was made to sign a protestation that he was not a consenting

party to the match. There seems, however, to have been no doubt that this protest was, and on both sides was fully understood to be, merely a move in the political game. Henry VII wanted to be in a position to repudiate the treaty if he found it convenient to do so. Before, however, the situation had materially changed, the English sovereign died, in April, 1509, and the young prince Henry, now his own master and eighteen years of age, seems to have been genuinely anxious to make Catherine his wife at the earliest opportunity. The marriage was celebrated nine weeks later, on June 11th, and Catherine was crowned with her husband on the 24th of the same month. She was prematurely delivered of a stillborn daughter on the 21 January, 1510, and of a son who only lived a few weeks on 1 January, 1511. Other children followed, but the only one who survived was Mary, afterwards Queen. Even Mary, hard-featured and hollow-cheeked, as she appears in her later portraits, was only 42 when she died.

There has been much speculation as to the real author of the divorce scheme. With whom did the idea originate ? The official story that the Bishop of Tarbes, in his mission to England in April, 1527, when the question of an alliance for the English king's daughter, Mary, had arisen, threw doubts upon her legitimacy, is taken seriously by very few. Neither is there much probability that it was Wolsey who had turned his master's thoughts in this direction.[1] Henry, the theologian, consumed with a passion for Anne Boleyn and anxious for an heir, is much more likely to have thought the matter out for himself. Anyway there is the indisputable fact that in 1527 the king professed to have misgivings as to the validity of his marriage and that a collusive suit was begun in which his majesty was called upon to show cause before Cardinal

[1] Mr. Belloc attributes the divorce scheme to the astute and unswerving policy of Anne Boleyn not to yield herself completely to Henry until she had made sure of becoming Queen of England. I confess I find difficulties in this solution.

Wolsey and Archbishop Warham why the union should not be impugned as contracted in defiance of the canons. The king read a written reply and appointed a proctor to represent him in future proceedings; but beyond the fact that Henry notified the Queen, to her bitter distress, that their marriage was called in question, the matter for the moment went no further in any English court. This by no means meant that the king had changed his mind, but it does seem to have portended that Henry, under Anne's influence, was losing faith in Wolsey and meant in future to manage the business for himself. In these early stages, however, the king soon found that he could not dispense with the cardinal's greater experience. Henry seems at first to have had an idea that if Catherine took the veil she might be treated as equivalently dead,[1] and that the Pope *constante matrimonio* (*i.e.*, without any formal annulment of the marriage) might permit him to marry again. Knight, the king's secretary, was despatched to Italy to obtain this or some equivalent concessions, but the Pope after the sack of Rome was virtually a prisoner in the castle of S. Angelo. Knight, in spite of much delay, obtained what he believed to be the desired commission, but it had been so much altered from the draft prepared in England, that when examined it was found quite ineffective for the purpose desired.

By this time we have reached December, 1527, and the king was content to leave the next appeal to the Holy See in Wolsey's more capable hands. For this purpose the Cardinal employed the Italian, Sir Gregory Casale, and later his own devoted Secretary Stephen Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Edward Fox, also a future bishop. We may understand very clearly the legal pleas put forward at this stage to justify Henry's attempt to have his marriage annulled, from a

[1] Henry was a student, and it is possible that some echo of the loose ideas current in the eighth century (see *The Month*, April, 1931, pp. 320-331) may have reached him.

summary of Wolsey's instructions to Casale, dated 5th of December, 1527. In this document the Cardinal explains :—

I have told you already how the king, partly by his assiduous study and learning, and partly by conference with theologians, has found his conscience somewhat burdened with his present marriage. . . . He has made diligent inquiry whether the dispensation granted for himself and the queen, as his brother's wife, is valid and sufficient, and he is told that it is not. The bull of dispensation is founded on certain false suggestions, as that his majesty desired the marriage for the good understanding between Henry VII, Ferdinand and Isabella, whereas there was no suspicion of any misunderstanding between them. And, secondly, he never assented or knew anything of this bull, nor wished for the marriage. On these grounds it is judged inefficacious. Next, when the king reached the age of fourteen, the contract was revoked, and Henry VII objected to the marriage. To this the king attributes the death of all his male children, and dreads the heavy wrath of God, if he persists. Notwithstanding his scruples of conscience, he is resolved to apply for his remedy to the Holy See, trusting that out of consideration of his services to the Church, the Pope will not refuse to remove this scruple out of the king's mind, and discover a method whereby he may take another wife, and, God willing, have male children. As His Holiness is now in captivity, you shall request the Pope to consider the advantages which will arise to the Apostolic See if, without disclosing this affair to anyone and without delay, he will freely grant a special commission to that effect in the form of a brief directed to me, granting me a faculty to summon whom I please to inquire into the sufficiency of the dispensation according to the tenor of the bill enclosed.[1]

I am not entirely satisfied that Mr. J. S. Brewer and Dr. Gairdner have always quite correctly grasped the point of the various difficulties raised in connection with the commissions applied for or provisionally accepted by the Holy See; but the matter is so intricate and the drafts and instructions so numerous that I have not found time to study the details as I should like. What

[1] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*; IV, n. 3641. The Latin original is printed in Burnet-Pocock, IV, 19.

stands out clearly is that Wolsey, seeing that his hold upon the King was completely lost if he failed to secure for him the nullity decree upon which he had set his heart, was determined to extort from the Pope *per fas et nefas* a commission in such form that the invalidity of the marriage might be decided on English soil without any opening being left for appeal or revocation of the cause to Rome. This end was in his idea to be attained by a "decretal commission," an instrument in which the Roman Pontiff determined beforehand the question of law in terms which precluded all protest or appeal, and left to the legates nominated in the same instrument the charge of deciding the issue of fact.[1] Several drafts of such a commission are preserved to us which were prepared in England ostensibly to save the Roman chancery trouble and to minimize delay, very much as one might send a stamped and addressed envelope to a procrastinating correspondent. All these documents were such as Clement could not accept with any show of justice to the Queen. Neither must we forget that at this time the Pope, residing in what was not far removed from absolute squalor at Orvieto, was still very much under the heel of Charles V, Catherine's nephew. But Wolsey through his agents had no mercy. By turns they threatened the Pontiff with a revolt against the papacy in England as grievous as that which had already occurred in Germany; they magnified Henry's services to the Church, particularly the book which had won him the title of Defender of the Faith; they swore—God knows how insincerely—that nothing but the highest religious principle and the desire for the welfare of his people motived Henry's

[1] Mr. Belloc (*Hist. of England*, IV, p. 87, and his *Wolsey*, p. 252), says that "a decretal bull was a bull enunciating a canonical decision, and in this case the papal decision asked for, of course, was that marriage with a deceased brother's wife was against the law of God." This would have meant that Julius II in granting the dispensation had exceeded his powers, and would have further invalidated all other dispensations of the same nature. I can find no trace of any such contention at this stage of the proceedings. None of the drafts prepared in England suggest this.

demand; and, what was perhaps the one note of truth in the whole appeal, they begged him, with tears, to have pity upon Wolsey and to grant at least as much as would enable the Cardinal to save his face with his royal master. What cannot be forgotten in all these negotiations is the fact that Henry had already solicited and obtained a dispensation, in the event of his being in a position to marry again, which was so ample that it covered almost every impediment that could possibly be dispensed from. In particular, it expressly set aside the bar to marriage which would arise from affinity, even in the first degree, *ex copula illicita*. There was probably no one in Rome at that date who suspected that the king's eyes were set upon Anne Boleyn as the future partner of his throne, nor certainly anyone who would have known that Mary Boleyn, her younger sister, had already been the king's mistress. The fact is now generally admitted, even by Dr. A. F. Pollard, Henry's apologist. Dr. Gairdner and Mr. Brewer speak with rightful indignation of the perverted moral sense of a husband who professed remorse for living in sin with his brother's widow, though he had been married to her *in facie Ecclesiae* with a papal dispensation, and yet at that very time was making plans to take as his consort the sister of the woman he had debauched. It is only fair, however, to point out that affinity *ex copula illicita* has always been regarded as standing on a different footing from that arising from consummated wedlock. The former is not recognised as affinity by the law of England, and since the publication of the new Codex, it is no longer a diriment impediment in the law of the Church.

We do not unfortunately know for certain the exact terms of the decretal commission which Clement, worn out by appeals so persistent that they seem to have anticipated the "third degree" of American criminal procedure, eventually conceded in a form made out to Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey jointly. He said after-

wards that he would be willing to lose one of his fingers in order to recall the document.[1] None the less, every precaution had been taken to prevent unscrupulous use being made of it. It was granted only to satisfy the king and save Wolsey. It was never to leave Campeggio's hands, nor to be shown to anyone whatever, except the king and the legates to whom it was addressed. Wolsey himself had suggested this secrecy, and had instructed his envoy to make a solemn oath to the effect that it should remain a dead letter. The instrument itself seems to have been destroyed by Campeggio, acting under instructions from Rome, not long after he had shown it to the king.

Nevertheless, there is small reason to doubt that the secret decretal commission must have approximated closely in its wording to the draft sent from England for that purpose, and I think that a copy of this in its final shape is preserved in a Cotton MS. (Vitellius, B. XII, fol. 124). This decretal commission was in form a very explicit document, more than twice the length of the general commission to Wolsey and Campeggio[2], about which there was no disguise. After a long preamble, in which are explained the circumstances of Henry's marriage with his brother's widow and the scruples which were torturing his conscience on finding himself without surviving male issue, despite the many children that had been born him, the draft goes on to refer to the dispensation for the marriage granted by Pope Julius II, *cujus quidem dispensationis tenor sequitur et est talis.* Whereupon the whole of that document is recited. Then follows the statement that this dispensation had been submitted to many experts learned in the law, and that they, comparing the motives alleged for the granting of the said dispensation with the facts of the case, had discovered that the representations therein contained had no adequate

[1] See the letter of John Casale to Wolsey, *Letters and Papers*, Vol. IV, No. 5038, p. 2186.

[2] Pocock: *Records of the Reformation*, I, pp. 167-169.

warrant in reality. There was, for example, at that time no reason to fear that the good relations between England and Spain were in jeopardy; neither was it true, as alleged, that Henry was anxious to contract a union with Catherine, his sister-in-law, because he knew nothing about the application for the dispensation and was in fact too young at twelve years of age to entertain any such feelings; moreover, he had, later on, entered a formal protest against this contract in which he had no part, which protest was of itself sufficient to cancel the dispensation. The experts, consequently, were of opinion that the dispensation was vitiated by flaws of subreption and obreption and could not stand in law.

And thereupon this commission, as prepared in England for the Pope to sign, goes on to make His Holiness say that, moved by these representations of his "beloved son" who had deserved so well of the Church, Clement appoints Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to determine the case, committing to them jointly, or if one of them be prevented from acting, to either of them singly, *the whole of his apostolic authority.* They are to inquire into the validity of the said bull or dispensation, and if they find that in fact there was then no danger of hostilities supervening between England and Spain, and that Henry had not desired the marriage in order to preserve peace, etc., they are to pronounce the dispensation subreptitious and obreptitious, to declare that the marriage which depended upon it was null and void from the beginning, and that the king was thereby free to contract a new matrimonial alliance.

Throughout the document every phrase and every tautology are used which could amplify the powers committed to the legates; but it was no doubt in its concluding sentences that we must look for that special virtue which rendered it so particularly desirable in the eyes of Henry and his minister. The Pope is made to terminate by saying, again with a disconcerting prolixity

of legal verbiage, that he here and now makes good by apostolic dispensation all that may be defective in the form of his commission, and he engages himself to confirm whatever action the cardinals may take in *exercising our power, whether ordinary or absolute* (potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo), and, moreover, quicquid per vos actum, gestum, decretum, dispensatum, pronunciatum, mandatum aut executum fuerit, id omne et totum, quam primum poterimus, ratum, gratum et firmum habentes, in validissima et efficacissima forma confirmabimus. But even this is not enough. The Pontiff promises that he will never undo what they settle, or revoke the commission. "It is our intention," —I summarise the document—"that this delegation of our authority, until the business is concluded, shall be permanently effective, all precedents, decrees, rescripts or briefs to the contrary notwithstanding, even though they shall be issued by us with the intent of revoking and annulling this our concession. By these presents we set aside any such attempted invalidations, accounting them void and of none effect, and so to be deemed of anterior date, while the present are to be held as always subsequent and reviving in force, so as to cancel everything that may be enacted to the prejudice of the same."[1]

I think, gentlemen, that you will agree with me that this decretal commission, submitted to the Roman Pontiff

[1] There are three draft commissions still preserved in England, all containing this verbose conclusion in the same terms. The first, made out to Wolsey alone, is printed by Pocock, *Records of the Reformation* (I, pp. 19-21). It makes no definite reference to the divorce, but simply commits the whole pontifical authority to Wolsey during the time of the Pope's captivity. The second (printed in Burnet-Pocock, IV, pp. 48-52) confers powers explicitly to pronounce upon the divorce question and leaves a blank for the name of a second commissioner to be associated with Wolsey. The third (never printed), made out to Wolsey and Campeggio jointly, recites in full the terms of the dispensation bull, and is, I believe, the one which Gardiner extorted from Pope Clement at least in substance, but under the safeguards described above. It occurs in MS. Cotton, Vitellius, B, XII, fol. 124-126, according to the new numbering. Is it possible that Clement knew all the time of the existence of the *brief* of dispensation, and was simply fooling Gardiner and his colleague by signing a commission which applied only to the bull?

as a formula for tying his own hands, is one of the most extraordinary legal documents ever drafted. We do not know, of course, I repeat, that it was issued by Pope Clement in precisely this shape. But if the badgering of the English envoys succeeded in extorting from him anything similar, we can well understand how he should have pledged Campeggio never to let it out of his hands, that it was to be shown to the king to save Wolsey from disgrace and as an earnest of the Pope's good will, but that it was never to be made use of save as a guide to the legates by indicating the issues of fact which they had to determine. No wonder Clement was in mortal terror after he had signed such a deed, and could hardly breathe again until he knew that the parchment had been destroyed. Let me note that the document previously issued, the "general commission," upon which in point of fact the procedure of the legates in England was based, contained no specification of the precise points to be determined, and nothing in the nature of a pledge that their findings would be ratified by the Pontiff, or that the cause would not be revoked to Rome. This was what the king and Wolsey, his minister, complained of. There was indeed a separate "pollicitation" or promise that the Pope would abide by the decision of the legates and not revoke the cause, but though this was a document which we do not like to think of him signing, it was very different from the form prepared in England, which was formerly believed to be the authentic text.[1]

When Campeggio came to England in October, 1528, bringing with him both the general and the decretal commission, the king was in a frenzy of impatience that the legates should get to work and decide the great matter at once. Campeggio was suffering agonies from an acute attack of the gout, but Henry and Wolsey left him no peace. None the less, it was not until May 1529, seven

[1] This last is printed in Burnet-Pocock, Vol. VI, p. 26. The promise actually made by the Pope is in Ehses, *Dokumente*, pp. 30-31.

months later, that the legatine court was opened. One does not feel sure that, in spite of the promises given by Wolsey and the staunchness of Campeggio, an attempt would not have been made to bring the decretal commission into play. But if the English Cardinal had ever entertained any such idea, the way was blocked at the outset by a very simple circumstance. The decretal, as we have seen, empowered the legates to pronounce upon the validity of an instrument (the bull of dispensation) the text of which was cited in full. As soon, however, as the difficulties raised against the motives therein alleged became known, the Queen produced a copy of another dispensation issued by Julius II in the form of a brief, and took her stand on that. The general drift was the same and the wording was in many places identical. Still there were slight but important differences, and the commission which Clement had so reluctantly conceded for pronouncing on the sufficiency of the bull, gave the legates no authority to declare the invalidity of a document not specified. Henry's canonists, utterly checkmated by this unforeseen contretemps, loudly averred their conviction that the pretended brief was a forgery. Without an inspection of the original, however, they could go no further, and the original was in the possession of Charles V, who, while he allowed the English ambassador to see and examine the document, refused to surrender it. The original parchment still exists in Vienna, and the palæographic experts of our own day pronounce it to be unquestionably authentic.[1] Mr. Belloc, in his recent Life of Wolsey, says that "this brief was especially designed to cover every possible flaw or lapse in the original dispensation; it was drafted in the widest terms, and if it were genuine, the case which Wolsey had advised the king to argue fell to the ground; this supplementary brief covered all." Mr. Belloc's statement implies that

[1] There is a technical error of date, but that is readily explainable (see Friedmann *Anne Boleyn*, II, pp. 328-337).

the brief was posterior to the bull; but this, I venture to think, is a mistake. There is an interesting mention of a "brief" of dispensation, applied for on the Spanish side just after the election of Pope Julius II, in December, 1503, a mention which even Dr. Gairdner appears to have overlooked, though he himself, now nearly seventy years ago, was the first to print it. Cardinal Hadrian de Castello, who was an Italian, but who, as a devoted servant of Henry VII, had been made Bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote to the king, Jan. 4th, 1504, about the election of Julius, the new Pope. Cardinal Hadrian was in Rome and had been deputed to take steps to obtain the dispensation necessary for the marriage of the little Prince of Wales to his brother's widow, and to work for this in conjunction with the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See. The passage in Hadrian's letter is too long to quote; but we are told how the Spanish ambassador had already, before the conclave, approached Giuliano della Rovere on the subject of the dispensation, thinking him likely to be made Pope, and the day after his election had reminded him of the matter and extracted a definite promise that he would grant it. Finally, he had taken to the new Pope a brief written on parchment (*breve scriptum in membrana*) ready to be sealed and authenticated. Julius had replied that he was quite willing to expedite the document, and declared that he granted the dispensation then and there, and that he did actually dispense the parties by word of mouth (*vivae vocis oraculo*); but, he added, that the matter would have to be committed to two Cardinals and that there was likely to be delay because a French Cardinal objected.[1] It is highly probable that the document which Hadrian saw in the hands of the Spanish ambassador at Rome was identical with the brief of which Queen Catherine, twenty-four years afterwards, unexpectedly produced a copy.

[1] Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII (Rolls Series), Vol. II, pp. 114-115.

As already stated, apart from the fact that the one dispensation was in the form of a brief, while the other was a bull, there were two notable differences in the contents. In the brief it was assumed that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine had been consummated (*matrimonium contraxeritis illudque carnali copula consummaveritis*); in the bull the word "perhaps" is inserted *illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis*). Now the former wording agrees with the instructions sent by Ferdinand to his representative in Rome as early as August, 1503. Ferdinand admits that it had previously been supposed in Spain at the time when the treaty was drafted that the marriage with Arthur had been consummated, but they had now discovered that this was an error. "It is well known in England," he writes," that the princess is still a virgin. But as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the Pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty. The right of succession depends on the undoubted legitimacy of the marriage.[1]" Both brief and bull, though not expedited until the latter part of 1504, were antedated December 26 of the previous year, which is probably the day when Julius conceded the dispensation to the Spanish envoy *vivae vocis oraculo*. Queen Isabella, then in infirm health, died before the end of November, 1504, and the brief seems at the last to have been dispatched in a hurry, without registration, to set her mind at rest when she was not expected to live.[2] The bull, a more imposing instrument with a leaden seal, was probably kept back to be entered in the *Regesta*.

But there was another and even more important variation between the bull and the brief. The bull stated

[1] Bergenroth, *Spanish Calendar*, I, No. 370; and cf. nn. 394 (p. 326), 407, 414, 426.

[2] Registration, *i.e.*, the inscribing of a copy in the official *Regesta*, was in no way essential to validity, and was often neglected in the case of briefs.

positively that Henry and Catherine desired to be married to cement the good relations between England and Spain. No other motive is suggested. But the brief, besides phrasing this a little differently, added the vital words "and for certain other reasons"; moreover, the Pope, when indicating the grounds of his acceding to their petition, explicitly stated that he, Julius, had much at heart the preservation of peace between Christian princes —a statement, by the way, which might provoke the irony of the critics of his pontificate—and that he granted the dispensation *his et aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus*. It was these other reasons, of course, which formed the legal point. It was impossible to prove that the motives alleged were subreptitious or obreptitious; for no one knew what the reasons were. It was upon this clause that the whole effort of Henry's agents was wrecked.

I am not here attempting to write the history of the divorce, but only trying to give an idea of what was important in the eyes of contemporary canonists. I pass over, therefore, the bullying of Queen Catherine in the effort to get possession of the original of the brief, the futile sittings of the legatine court after months of delay, the worthless evidence produced to prove the consummation of the former marriage, and finally the revocation of the whole cause to Rome. So long as the authenticity of the dispensation brief could not be disproved, the clause *et aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus*, as one of Pope Clement's consultors in Rome not obscurely indicated,[1] barred all further progress. The only point and that a very feeble one, which could be made a ground of objection against the dispensation was the omission of any mention of the impediment known as *publica honestas*, or *publicae honestatis justitia*. It was Wolsey who pointed this out at an early stage. If a man contracted a marriage with a woman which was not consummated,

[1] Ehses, *Römische Dokumente*, p. 157.

or even if he was only betrothed to her in solemn form, there was, of course, no affinity, but there arose formerly the impediment of *publica honestas* (let us call it public propriety or respect for decencies), which barred his marriage with all her relatives to the fourth degree. This no longer subsists in the same form. In Catherine's case, however, though neither bull nor brief made mention of *publica honestas*, the bull by the use of the phrase *forsan consummavissetis* (perhaps consummated) implicitly included it, for it obviously allowed the parties to marry whether the previous marriage was consummated or not. If the former, it removed the impediment of affinity; If the latter, it removed the only impediment which existed, viz., that of *publica honestas*.

The legatine commission having failed of its intended purpose, the king and his abettors gradually shifted their ground and eventually attacked the marriage from an entirely different standpoint. Hitherto there had been no thought of disputing the Pope's dispensing power. Henry, on the contrary, wished to exalt it, first, because he hoped that Clement would find some way to annul his union with Catherine, and secondly, because a papal dispensation was needed before Anne Boleyn, the sister of his former mistress, could become his lawful wife. He had, however, hinted quite early in the negotiations that there were many authorities who held that marriage with a deceased wife's sister was prohibited by the divine law, and that the Holy See had no power to set aside what was so forbidden. In particular, it was alleged that the king was haunted by the text of Leviticus (xx, 21): "He that marrieth his brother's wife, doth an unlawful thing, he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be without children." So far as the remaining proceedings, before Henry took the law into his own hands, were a matter of legal argument and not merely of threats, the debate turned entirely upon the question of the power of the Pope to dispense. The first step was that device by

the suggestion of which Cranmer is alleged to have risen to prominence, viz., the obtaining an expression of opinion from the Universities of Europe and from learned men on the limitations of papal authority in the matter of matrimonial impediments. Much money was expended and great pressure was applied to obtain an answer favourable to the king's desires. Neither is it surprising, considering the means employed and the opportunism in matters of faith and morals characteristic of the period, that a considerable body of learned opinion seemed to treat the prohibition to marry a brother's widow as a matter of the natural law which the Pope had no power to override.[1]

In July, 1530, an appeal was signed by spiritual and temporal lords of England, praying the Pope to consent to the king's desires and pointing out the evils which had arisen from delaying the divorce. It is very noteworthy that in this document, to which the names of both Archbishops, four bishops, and twenty-two abbots, with the bulk of the nobility, were attached, we do not find any mention of Blessed John Fisher or Blessed Thomas More, though More was then Lord Chancellor. Chapuys reported that the latter was in some danger of losing the great seal owing to his refusal to sign, and that he had deliberately absented himself from the council on this occasion. Even Dr. Pollard admits that we know from More's own testimony that when he accepted office as Chancellor the king had agreed to let him take his own line about the divorce. It was not from his having neglected to inquire into the matter. It is plain from what he tells us in his very noble letter to Thomas Cromwell that much argument had been brought to bear upon him by the king himself as well as by Fox and others, but he could not see his way to take the king's view. He pleaded his incompetence to deal with a matter which did not belong to his own special

[1] It is astonishing to find that Reginald Pole was busy in Paris attempting to obtain from that University a decision favourable to the King's wishes. The fact seems certain. See Pocock, *Records*, I, Preface, p. xxx.

province, and he is most explicit in his declaration that in no way, either directly or indirectly, had he done anything to frustrate the efforts which were made to obtain a decision in his majesty's favour; but he left the issue to God, feeling that he was not called upon to interfere in a matter which was purely ecclesiastical. In point of fact it was not so clear to the theologians of that day, as we might be inclined to imagine now, that Pope Julius did not exceed the limits of the papal authority in permitting a wife (the first marriage being assumed to have been consummated) to marry her deceased husband's brother.

Let me conclude with a quotation from one of the most admirable tributes paid in modern times to the memory of the great Lord Chancellor, who is the patron of the Society I have the honour of addressing. "More," says Professor R. W. Chambers, "was a good Englishman and a loyal subject of Henry VIII, but he was also a good European." The Chancellor was always thinking that if the Church were broken up and dismembered, there would be little left to hold together the common body of Christendom. "Walking with Roper by the Thames-side at Chelsea, he burst out: 'Now would to our Lord, son Roper, upon condition that three things were well established in Christendom, I were put in a sack and here presently cast into the Thames.' The three things were, peace between Christian princes, freedom from heresy in the Church, and a good conclusion to the question of the king's marriage, which otherwise would be a disturbance to a great part of Christendom." Sir Thomas More was surely something of a prophet as well as a Saint.

HERBERT THURSTON

JAMES SHIELDS: SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

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IRISH immigrants as a group or as individuals have not done badly in the States. The great majority, unsung in either the annals of the native or adopted land, have lived, laboured and died, but not without laying the foundations of the race and of the Church in America. A small minority lived picturesque lives of adventure or gained a name in the Church, in business, in politics, in labour organisations, and in the professions. Among the comparatively few Catholic Irishmen who won national fame was James Shields. A good Irishman, a loyal Catholic, a regular Democrat, an honest judge, a distinguished soldier in three wars, a representative of three different States in the United States' Senate, a patriot, a colonizer, and a courageous liberal, Shields merited the encomium of the late John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul: "James Shields was the Irishman and the American—the Irishman, by birth, temper, and education; the American, by loyalty and service—the Irishman and the American to a typical degree." [1]

At Altmore in County Tyrone, Shields was born, May 12, 1806, to Charles Shields (d. 1812), a respectable small farmer, and his wife, Katherine McDonnell, who claimed descent from the bold and ill-fated Scottish clan which the quartered troopers of William of Orange annihilated in the massacre of Glencoe. The Shields' family was of ancient establishment in County Antrim when Daniel Shields and his four sons fought under the banner of James II at the Battle of the Boyne, where the father and one son were killed in action. Two of

[1] *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* 15: 732.

the boys left with the "wild geese" for Spain in whose service one became captain-general of Cuba. The fourth son, Dan, took to the hills of Tyrone, where as the times became quieter he settled down on the rugged land as the husband of an English planter's daughter whom he had saved from drowning. And of his sons: James studied for the priesthood in France, but left the seminary to emigrate to America where he enlisted in the patriot forces in the Revolution, taught Latin and Greek in an academy at Charleston, South Carolina, and fought in the War of 1812 against the hereditary English enemy; Dan and Patrick died without issue; and Charles maintained the family line with James, the subject of this sketch, Daniel who also went West, and Patrick who remained in Ireland.

Trained in a hedge-school, in an academy kept by a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and tutored by a retired priest of royal Maynooth, James acquired a sound classical education. For a time, he was improved by association with his adventurous uncle James, who had returned temporarily from America to recuperate from a wound received at the Battle of New Orleans. Thus he learned much about America and of Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, in whose exploits the Irish gloried and whose career indicated what an immigrant labourer's son might become in the Republic of the West. The youth learned valuable lessons in military tactics from veterans of '98 who had followed Wellington through the Peninsular campaign to Waterloo. Thus was an aggressive spirit enkindled which lead him into a duel with a retired English soldier. Fortunately the flints failed and the duellists became companions, the soldier improving the lad in French and in sword-play.

What with famine, plague, and the failure of Catholic relief, the year 1822 was a desperate time in Ireland. There was a heavy emigration, especially from the North and largely to Canada, where the fare was less than to

New York and which was then extensively advertised as the place of immigration for Ireland's surplus population. James Shields sought relief and freedom by crossing over to Liverpool and shipping for Quebec. The small sailing vessel was blown from its course and wrecked off the Scottish coast. Shields and one or two sailors were the only survivors. He landed in Scotland where he earned a livelihood as a tutor until he obtained a berth on a merchantman. In the meantime, his uncle James had died in Charleston leaving a small estate for his Irish kin. As a supercargo on a tramp-ship from Peru, James in due course reached the harbour of New York, where he was blown from aloft in a storm and had both legs broken. By the time he recovered his ship had sailed and he resolved to try his fortune in the United States. This was probably about 1826.

There was then another James Shields (1762-1831) in America, possibly a kinsman but hardly an uncle as he is described in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* 1774-1927. He was born in Banbridge, County Down, graduated from the University of Glasgow, taught school in Frederick County, Virginia (1791-1801), migrated to the new state of Ohio, served for years in its legislature, was a Democratic elector in 1828, elected as a Jacksonian-Democrat to Congress (1829-31), and died a victim of a stage-coach accident in 1831. At any rate, there was no close connection between the two men, though the rise of a namesake and a kinsman must have inspired James Shields with greater hopes for his own future.

At various pursuits he turned his hand until he finally found himself teaching French in the old French settlement of Kaskaskia in Illinois. Here he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1832, and apparently joined a volunteer company which campaigned against Black Hawk and his Indians. A deep-dyed Democrat, Shields was popular enough in that frontier county of

Randolph to be elected as a representative in the state legislature although the locality was conservative and Whiggish in politics (1835). For two terms he served with such colleagues as John A. McClernand who afterwards distinguished himself in Congress and in the Civil War; John J. Hardin who later represented his district in Congress and was killed at Buena Vista (1847); Stephen A. Douglas, nicknamed "the Little Giant"; and Abraham Lincoln, then a half-educated lawyer of few briefs and of uncouth ways which challenged notice even in that primitive land where new men were growing to greatness with the development of the new country. In education and general experience Shields surpassed most members of the legislature. Rewarded by popular election to the auditorship of the state, Shields for two terms (1839-43) wrestled with the disordered finances of the Commonwealth of Illinois, which had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy by speculation, canal-building corruption, and the panic of 1837 with its aftermath of depression, business failures, and unemployment. From confusion he brought reasonable order by insisting that taxes be paid in specie instead of the depreciated currency of local wild-cat banks.

Naturally the state auditor was roundly denounced in the hostile Whig press in editorials and by anonymous correspondents. In a series of letters to the *Springfield Journal*, which were traced to the Misses Mary Todd and Jayne, one the fiancée of Lincoln and the other the future bride of Senator Lyman Trumbull, Shields was subjected to ridicule and charges of being a liar, a fool, and a hard-money man. As a gentleman of spirit he resented being described in doggerel; and as Abraham Lincoln shouldered some responsibility, he demanded retraction from that gentleman. Behind it all there was some nativist, anti-Catholic spirit, as well as the native Whig politician's hostility to the Irish Democratic politician. Seconds were chosen, and Lincoln characteristically would have

joked the matter off with his selection of cavalry broad swords as weapons. Shields may have been irascible and arrogant, but he knew not fear. Wise friends intervened on the field of honour, Lincoln denied any intent to injure Shield's character, and Shields withdrew his challenge. The men became friendly, and Lincoln never seemed disposed to dwell on this incident when weaving reminiscent stories of early Illinois.[1]

In 1843 Shields was named to fill the unexpired term of Justice Semple on the state Supreme Court by Governor Thomas Ford, whose manuscript history of Illinois Shields later edited and had published (1854). Two years later this appointment was ratified by the legislature which elected him for a full term. On the bench Justice Shields was honest, industrious in writing opinions, and surprisingly detached. A leading member[2] of the Illinois bar, who has written a somewhat laudatory volume on Shields, held that his decisions were generally regarded as just and marked with a degree of legal erudition. His judicial tenure ended when President James K. Polk appointed him commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington.

Polk's opponents maintained that he owed his election to the Presidency of the United States over the Whig-Nativist candidate, Senator Henry Clay, to the Irish and immigrant vote in that critical election of 1844. At all events, Polk endowed Shields with an enviable political plum relished by politicians of acquisitive instincts, but Shields was too honest for an American politician and too much of a rolling-stone to gather moss. Hence when the administration forced war upon weak Mexico in the interest of pan-Americanism and pro-slavery extension, Shields resigned the federal berth and was commissioned a brigadier-general of Illinois volunteers (July 1, 1846).

[1] See W. W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota* II (1924) pp. 8f.; W. H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1872); W. H. Herndon and Jesse Weik, *Abraham Lincoln* (1906).

[2] W. H. Condon, *Life of Major-General Shields* (1900).

Lincoln was in Congress criticizing the war; and when a Whig administration succeeded that of Polk, he vainly lobbied for the position which Shields had resigned.

General Shields's career in the Mexican War was conspicuous if not brilliant. He fought under Zachary Taylor on the Rio Grande, under General Wool at Chihuahua, and under Wingfield Scott at Tampico, where he was given command when the Mexican forces evacuated the city, at Cerro Gordo, Vera Cruz, Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec. At Cerro Gordo he fell wounded into the arms of Richard Oglesby, later a Senator from Illinois, when a bullet pierced his lung. Though the wound was regarded as fatal, he was healed by a remarkable French surgeon in the Mexican service who had been captured in the campaign. In a few weeks Shields was again in the saddle, now a brevetted major-general. It was in his report of Cerro Gordo that General Scott wrote: "General Shields, a commander of activity, zeal and talent, is, I fear, if not dead, mortally wounded." Later, he reported: "Shields's brigade, bravely assaulting the left, carried the rear battery (five guns) on the Islapa road, and added materially in the rout of the enemy . . . . The brigade so gallantly lead by General Shields, and after his fall by Colonel Baker, deserves commendation for fine behaviour and success." [1]

At Cherubusco General Shields led a headlong charge of New York volunteers, of whom no small number came from his native Ireland, and the South Carolina "palmettos." On the Senate staircase in the national capitol there is a painting commemorative of the conflict which depicts Shields in shirt-sleeves as he stands among more formally attired officers. At Chapultepec Shields suffered a fractured arm and his horse was killed; but bareheaded and with brandishing sword he led his command into Mexico City, where he was among the first to plant the Stars and Stripes on the hall of the ancient Montezuma.

[1] See *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 15: 737 quoted from *Rebellion Records.*

No doubt he thought of Hernando Cortez and his Spaniards, for he had a Celtic habit of dreaming. Again, at the national capitol, a painting of this fight shows Shields in the thick of the engagement.

On July 28, 1848, his brigade was disbanded and General Shields, somewhat enfeebled in health, returned to Kaskaskia and Belleville to commence a law practice. He was a marked man in Illinois with a jewelled sword costing $3,000 presented by the State. In competition South Carolina was more generous with a $5,000 diamond-hilted sword. President Polk appointed him governor of the recently created Oregon Territory much to the embarrassment of the Methodists who were modestly claiming that they had saved the region for America. However, Shields resigned the honour when the legislature of Illinois elected him to the United States' Senate over Senator Sidney Breeze, who was also a Democrat. A Whig Senate found a technicality a few days after Shields took his seat (Mar. 5, 1849) and voted that his election was void: "He not having been a citizen of the United States the term of years required as a qualification to be a Senator of the United States at the commencement of the term for which he was elected."[1] Shields, thereupon, resigned and was re-elected by the legislature. He finally took his seat in the Senate, December 3, 1849, and served out the full term as a colleague of the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglas, who was rapidly becoming the Democratic leader of America. Old friends and colleagues in the Illinois legislature, their friendship continued, and in 1856 Shields was best man at Douglas's marriage to the Catholic heiress, Adele Cutts, concerning whom he wrote to Governor Sibley of Minnesota:[2] "The bride . . . . is a splendid person, and will be a great benefit to Judge Douglas. She has good sense, exquisite taste, and a kind, generous dis-

[1] Sketch of Shields in *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* 1774-1927.
[2] *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 15: 720.

position. Her influence will improve his appearance and soften his manners."

Shields had the bearing of a senator : not bad looking, slight and wiry in build, of medium height, five feet nine inches, scrupulously neat in dress, and martial in carriage. Charming in manners, urbane, and courteous, he disguised a sharp temper and an independent if not arrogant attitude. As a speaker he was graceful and humourous—as severe critics admitted. His voice was rich and sonorous. He was frank and fearless, with a touch of the demagogue ; and above all he was lucid and concise—a characteristic probably traceable to his excellent command of Latin and French and fair knowledge of Spanish. A man of resolution, he proved no inactive Senator.

As member and as chairman of the then important Committee on Public Lands, he was interested in land-grants for soldiers and in aid of internal improvements as railroad construction. In a broad way he realised, as land sales brought hardly enough to pay for the costly machinery of their sale and disposal, that it would be wiser to use wild lands to encourage the settlement of easterners and immigrants in the sparsely settled West. He would allot lands to companies constructing railroads to encourage their building ahead of settlements through wild regions ; for he saw in rails a guarantee against sectionalism and political disunion. In 1851 he presented a memorial from citizens of Illinois urging a land grant for an agricultural school and experimental farm. In time these ideas were translated into statutes. While he obtained little credit, yet Shields made his contribution to the later, definitive land policy. Somewhat of an authority on Mexico, whose culture he had interpreted in popular lectures, he advocated the building of a mail route to Mexico as a means of developing commerce. This was no fantastic dream of the Irishman who was also chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Not given to twisting the British lion's tail like native

politicians fishing for the Irish vote, Senator Shields urged an inquiry into English aggressions in San Salvador and Honduras, though not without expressing confidence in both the administration and the English minister at Washington. At a time when most organisation Democrats were cringingly pro-slavery or at least pro-Southern, he courageously presented petitions against the extension of slavery into the territories, voted for the abolition of the nefarious slave trade in the District of Columbia which had its auction block for black flesh, and in an impassioned speech argued for the admission of California as a free State. Out of harmony with radicals on either side—fanatical abolitionists of the North or rabid fire-eaters of the South—he recognised that Congress had full authority over the territories and denied that ownership of slaves meant more than property rights in their perpetual service : " It is sometimes urged here that our Constitution carries slavery with it wherever it goes, unless positively excluded by law ; in other words, that slavery is the normal law of this Republic. I think the principle is just the reverse. Slavery, being in violation of natural right, can only exist by positive enactment ; and the Constitution of this country only tolerates slavery where it exists, but neither extends nor establishes it anywhere." With insight he explained that if a Southern Confederacy was formed, it must ally with some strong power as England, which it would find no more friendly to slavery than Puritan New England. As a liberal he was as willing to welcome Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian rebel, as Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish rebel of 1848. Indeed, he was responsible for the preamble to the Bill offering America's sympathetic hospitality to Louis Kossuth.

In 1855 Shields was defeated for re-election by Judge Lyman Trumbull as the result of a deadlock in the legislature between himself and Lincoln. He, thereupon, went to Minnesota Territory as Douglas's appointee to

distribute the Sioux half-breed script and incidentally to select lands awarded to him for his military service. Impressed with the fertility of the soil and healthfulness of the severe climate, Shields undertook to colonize Irish-Americans in Minnesota. A rural people at home, he grieved to see them crowded in the slums of Atlantic coast cities and engaged in the most arduous and menial labour when cheap western lands would afford them a good livelihood and a reasonable competence for life. His views were those of the Irish lay and clerical leaders in the famous Buffalo Convention, of Irish settlers west of the Allegheny Mountains, and of the bishops of the West. In the East Shields found, as did other colonizers, a bitter and unreasoning opponent in Archbishop John Hughes, who was unacquainted with the West, its opportunities, its broader toleration, and its rapidly increasing Catholic population. Hughes saw only danger to the faith and desperate hardships for pioneers, as he eyed suspiciously all philanthropists or land-agents who would induce their countrymen to go West. Yet the best prairie lands, ready for the plow, could be purchased in fee simple for $1.25 (5 shillings) per acre in tracts as small as eighty acres. And after 1862, by merely paying a nominal surveying and filing fee and living on the land for five years as an improving settler, one hundred and sixty acres could be had under the Homestead Act by the settler who had taken out his first citizenship papers.

Archbishop Hughes was wrong, but he died too early (1864) to realise his mistake or appreciate the strength of the westward movement. The Irish erred in accepting his opinion. Hughes has been severely arraigned, but less sharply by Shields's biographer than by most Irish leaders in the West: "Shields was one of the pioneers in Irish colonization in America, which unfortunately Archbishop Hughes of New York throttled at its birth, through ignorance and short-sightedness, and thereby left the Irish emigrants, in many cases, the prey of the vile and

designing in large cities, to eke out a miserable existence in unhealthy tenements, and often to be consigned to pauper's graves."[1] Mr. Condon was not altogether correct. He pictured too harshly Irish failure in the East, while he overlooked the fact that a journey over the Mississippi River would hardly have metamorphosed a potential pauper of New York or Philadelphia into a successful western farmer.

The way of Irish colonizers in America had never been easy—whether Father Prince Gallitzin [2] in Pennsylvania, Bishop Benedict Fenwick in Maine, Devereux in New York, Father John Tracy and General John O'Neill in Nebraska, or Bishop Mathias Loras in Iowa.[3] Yet Shields did not hesitate. He broadcast invitations to settle in Minnesota; he joined with the French-Sioux trader, Alexander Faribault, to establish the town of Faribault; he colonized the townships of Shieldsville, Erin, Kilkenny, and Montgomery in Leseur and Rice Counties.[4] To-day these are thriving Irish rural settlements, and Faribault, a town with a population of about 12,000, has three Catholic churches—French, German and Irish. Shields's moderate success later inspired Bishop Ireland to establish the Irish-American Colonization Society and to undertake his own settlements in Minnesota. Incidentally, Shields raised a company of his colonists to assist in suppressing a minor Indian uprising in Iowa where there had been a massacre of isolated settlers at Spirit Lake. There was no fighting, as pioneers nearer at hand had driven away the marauding Sioux band.

The state of Minnesota appreciated his labours as a builder; for it elected Henry M. Rice and Shields as its first senators, somewhat to the chagrin of older Demo-

[1] Condon, *Shields*, 52.

[2] See article on "Gallitzin" by R. J. Purcell in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[3] John O'Grady, *Catholic Charities in the U.S.* (1931), pp. 59f.

[4] Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names* (1920) pp. 462f.

cratic wheelhorses. Of course opposition newspapers had some sharp remarks about the election of Douglas's pauper Irishman who had been sent to the State to seize a Democratic senatorship. In drawing for the short or long term, Shields was less fortunate; for he drew the year's term, which expired March 4, 1859. He was not re-elected, for the State went Republican, and a nonentity, Morton S. Wilkinson, succeeded him. Of his service in the Senate a local historian has written: "The value of Senator Shields to this State cannot be measured by the length of his term. His previous high status in the body ... made him a worthy colleague of the astute pioneer, Mr. Rice; they worked together in fine harmony and with rare effectiveness in securing liberal favours for the struggling young commonwealth."[1]

From Shieldsville the ex-Senator, who had given his farm to a nephew (who later became a county judge), went to California. At St. Ignatius Church, San Francisco, he married Mary Carr, a daughter of an old Armagh friend who had failed in the linen business and emigrated to America. His honeymoon brought him to Mazatlan in Mexico where he managed a mine. As soon as he learned of the firing on Fort Sumpter, he sold his mining interest and tendered his services to President Lincoln.

Appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers (Aug. 19, 1861), Shields did most of his Civil War fighting in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Here at Winchester, though wounded, he directed his corps from his cot and administered to Stonewall Jackson a slight defeat—and Jackson ranks next to Robert C. Lee and Joseph C. Johnston in Confederate military annals. Again, he fought Jackson at Port Republic, where the latter's victory was due, according to later testimony of General Oates of Jackson's staff, to the failure of Carroll to burn the bridge over the Shenandoah in obedience to Shields's

[1] *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 15 : 720; See, W. W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota* (1924) Vol. 2.

orders, which were countermanded by his superior, General McDowell. At all events, President Lincoln nominated Shields for a major-generalcy; but for political reasons the Senate failed to concur. Again the President would have rewarded him: "It is authentically stated that the President informally tendered to General Shields the command of the Army of the Potomac after McClellan had failed, but that position was declined owing to the General's strained relations with Secretary Stanton."[1] While there is no proof of this offer, it is more than a legend. Lincoln was too clever to put everything in writing; indeed, despite his canonization, Abraham Lincoln was a shrewd politician. Because of his dislike for Secretary of War Stanton, the stormy petrel in the next administration (that of Andrew Johnson), Shields resigned from the Army (Mar. 28, 1863) and retired to San Francisco where he was appointed a State railroad commissioner.

In 1866 Shields sailed for New York and then journeyed westward to Missouri. His wife was anxious to end his roving career and to settle down on an estate. Her desire and the advice of an old Illinois friend, Judge George Pattison, led him to buy a small farm near Carrollton, Missouri, where in a spacious house surrounded by orchards he dispensed generous hospitality to friends and old political associates. Here he campaigned against the illiberal test law which disqualified for the suffrage all men who could not or would not swear that they had not in anyway abetted or even sympathised with the Confederacy. This "iron-clad" oath, later declared unconstitutional, proved a stumbling block for many loyal men who bore no hatred for the South, as Bishop Kenrick and a number of courageous priests, some of whom were arrested—as Father David Phelan (1841-1915), the stormy editor of the *Western Watchman*. With the Black or Radical Republicans Shields became as bad

[1] *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 15: 724.

as a rebel in that late border State. On the other hand, he became the hero of the pro-Southern, Democratic, and Liberal Republican groups.

As a candidate for Congress in 1868, a bad year for Democrats, Shields received a popular majority in a district which included Kansas City. However, a hostile Republican canvassing board rejected the votes of two counties and certified to the election of his Republican opponent. Times were not normal. The House of Representatives, dominated by the Black Republicans, upheld the decision of the canvassing board. A bitter opponent of Grant's administration, which as far as scandals were concerned was worse than that of the late President Warren G. Harding, Shields supported the coalition reform ticket of Horace Greeley and Henry Gratz-Brown in the Liberal Republican national campaign of 1872. But U. S. Grant as a war hero could not be defeated.

A popular and appealing lecturer on a variety of topics, Shields was generous in speaking for religious, Irish and charitable causes as Southern relief during the cholera pestilence. His hat could not be kept out of the political arena. In 1874 and 1875 he was a Democratic representative in the State legislature where he promoted a law establishing a State Railroad Commission. Somewhat to his chagrin, friends vainly submitted his name for doorkeeper of the House of Representatives at Washington. The House did vote to place him on the retired list as a brigadier-general; but a Republican Senate vetoed the measure. He was financially in a bad way, as were most men in the West in the years of agricultural collapse after the panic of 1873. In 1877 he was adjutant general of Missouri, and later served as railroad commissioner, even as he had in California. On January 22, 1879, he was elected by a Democratic State legislature to fill out the term of Senator Lewis J. Bogy, which had a few weeks to run. Shields was then in the United States Senate for the third time—having previously

represented Illinois and Minnesota. He declined to be a candidate for re-election, apparently because of ill health.

His strange, picturesque career was soon run, for he died (June 1, 1879) at Ottumwa, Iowa, while on a short lecture tour. Buried with simple Catholic services at St. Mary's Cemetery in Carollton, Senator Shields bequeathed his widow and three children a meagre estate (a few acres), a small and recently granted pension which was continued, and his swords, which were later purchased by the war department from a congressional appropriation. Yet many of his associates, who are never described in American textbooks as politicians, started quite as impoverished as Shields and accumulated swollen fortunes in contracts, railroads, timber, or mines.

The memory of Shields is, however, perpetuated. In 1893 his statue was erected by the State of Illinois as one of its two representative worthies in Statuary Hall in the national capitol. In 1910 his neglected grave in Carrollton was marked by a colossal statue with elaborate ceremonies presided over by the liberal Governor Hadley and Archbishop John J. Glennon of St. Louis. Aroused by the organised veterans of the Civil War, Minnesota raised a memorial (1914) in her State capitol, with Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul as the eulogist of General and Senator James Shields.[1]

Richard J. Purcell.

[1] Printed in *Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 15 (1915) 731-740.

THE DISPERSION OF THE SPANISH JESUITS

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

ON January 24th of this year the official *Gazette* of the Spanish Republic published the text of the Decree by which the Society of Jesus is declared to be " disbanded and deprived of all juridical personality " within the territories of the Republic. It is not the first time that this blow has fallen. As far back as 1767 King Carlos III, acting on the advice of his Liberal ministers and following the example of Pombal and Choiseul, expelled the Jesuits from Spain. On that occasion no warning was given. The Jesuit houses were surrounded at night; in the morning the arrest was effected by troops appointed for that purpose; within a few days every Jesuit in Spain had been summarily deported, without food or clothing by way of provision, and the six thousand victims were landed in Corsica, after an attempt had been made to burden the Papal States with their support. In 1814 the Society, suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, was restored by Pius VII. The Jesuits were back in Spain in the following year with the restoration of Ferdinand VII. In 1820 they were attacked in the course of the Revolution of that year, and in 1822 twenty-five of their number were killed by the revolutionaries. In 1823 they were back again, but the death of the King in 1833 marks the beginning of thirty-five years of civil war and revolution. The Jesuits were not the only sufferers during these years. In 1834 cholera broke out in Spain, and word was spread among the people of Madrid that the priests had poisoned the wells. A riot broke out, fifteen Jesuits were massacred at St. Isidore's, and fifty other religious perished on the same day in the convents of Madrid. In 1835 the Jesuits were expelled once more, and were absent from Spain until 1848—a year which saw their expulsion in so many other

European countries. In 1852 their status was recognised by a Concordat, and they held their own with difficulty during the troubled years that followed. In 1868 they were expelled again, but were back in the country within a few years, when the last but one of these Spanish revolutions ended with the proclamation of King Alphonsus XII (1874). And now in 1932 a new revolution has led once more to their dispersion.

The fifty-eight years that have passed since the last expulsion and confiscation were not idle years. Writing in the columns of the *Church Times* for February 12 of this year, a correspondent, who signs with the initials of a well-known Professor of Spanish Literature (E. A. P.), attempts the following summary :—

> Even to tell all that I know by personal experience of the Society's beneficent work in Spain would require many pages. Let me rather attempt to deal, suggestively and not exhaustively, with its labours over a wider area. Of the seventy odd *residencias* and some thirty colleges of the Society in Spain the best-known is probably the magnificent new Colegio Maximo at Sarriá, a suburb of Barcelona. Here we have three colleges, as it were, in one—a School of Ecclesiastical Studies, an Institute of Chemistry, and a Biological Laboratory, to which has recently been added a Laboratory for Experimental Psychology. The similar college at Oña, recently damaged by fire, was converted fifty years ago from a ruin into one of the most progressive educational institutions in the country. It has nearly three hundred students, recruited from a dozen nations, and its *alumni* go out into every continent. The two other Colegios Maximos are at Comillas, near Santander—this is the *alma mater* of Cardinal Segura—and at Granada, where the special scientific study is that of astronomy. The fate of these and other colleges under the Government *régime* will no doubt be watched with care.
>
> The poorest classes in Spain will be the poorer for the loss of the Jesuits. The Church of the Sacred Heart at Barcelona maintains five workingmen's clubs, and spends 60,000 pesetas annually on the education of over 1,200 children. The Catholic Workmen's Club at Burgos has 1,500 members ; its housing and pension schemes make it far more sought after than any secular club of the kind ; the same applies to its savings bank, its sick

benefits, and its day and night classes. The Jesuit Social Centre at Valladolid, with 1,000 members, has a co-operative society, a labour exchange and a savings bank; its founder, P. Marcelino de la Paz, who is still living at the age of ninety, is also responsible for a model reformatory, the work of which may be continued by others, but must be credited to the Society of Jesus.

This personal impression may be supplemented by more accurate statistics. An authentic statement as to the present position of public education in Spain is to be found in a special volume of the Spanish encyclopædia published by Espasa-Calpe at Bilbao under the title *Espana*. This volume, which contains no less than 1576 double-columned pages and is lavishly illustrated, was published in 1925 under the Directorate of General Primo de Rivera. Its articles are the work of about a hundred Spanish specialists, and the general tone of these contributors shows that the editors aimed at producing a semi-official statement of the actual facts concerning modern Spain. The long article on Education (pp. 1061-90) gives the latest official statistics at the time of writing; if I confine myself to the evidence of these tables, my excuse must be that more recent evidence is not easily available.[1] For the part taken by the Jesuit Fathers in the work of Spanish education, official Jesuit statistics are available up to the date of the dissolution. A comparison of these two series of figures may help to clear away some misconceptions.

The fundamental educational law in Spain prior to the recent Revolution dated back to the year 1857—a date which shows that its framers were largely influenced by the Liberal tendencies of that age. Since then the law had been constantly modified, but its main purpose remained unaltered. Primary and secondary education were partly free, partly under state-control; university education was a Government monopoly. In primary education private schools were permitted in addition to

[1] I have also taken some figures from an article published by P. Fr. Restrepo, S. J., in *Schule und Erziehung* (1926), p. 307 foll.

the so-called national schools. Some of these private schools were aided by state-endowments, others were dependent on private benefactions. The latest figures which I have been able to consult date back to the year 1916. In that year there were 24,344 state schools, and another 1,500 which were partly of private origin, partly dependent on the state. As against this record there were 6,367 private elementary schools taught by Spaniards, and another 116 in which the teachers were foreigners. No distinction is made in the lists I have seen between the numbers attending the national schools and those attending the private schools; but all who have lived in Spain report that elementary education has been most grievously neglected by all Spanish Governments. The schools were for the most part wretchedly equipped, and the teachers inadequately prepared for their work. The writer of the article in the Espasa Encyclopædia claims that the late Directorate was aiming at improvement in the quality of the teachers; but it is plain that much remained to be done.

The published figures as to illiteracy in Spain are eloquent enough. In 1910—the last year for which statistics were available when the volume was produced (1925)—the total number of illiterates in Spain was 11,867,658 out of a population of twenty million—five million being men and more than six and a half million being women. These figures are misleading, since they include children as well as adults; but the percentages are alarming. In some of the most disturbed areas, about which we all were reading last summer, the percentage of those who can neither read nor write was overwhelming. In the Province of Alicante, for example, the percentage was as high as seventy per cent in 1910; in the Province of Málaga it was nearly eighty per cent. Jaén, Murcia, Granada, Albacete, Corunna, Cordoba, are all worse than Alicante; the best areas are, as might be expected, in the neighbourhood of the chief cities—Madrid, Barcelona,

etc. Even allowing for the fact that infants and children are included in these figures, it is plain that the lack of elementary education among great masses of the people was a formidable menace to stability. Something had been done to improve the situation in the twenty years between 1910 and the Revolution of last summer; but the calculation of the article from which I have been quoting seems unduly optimistic. Taking Spain as a whole—not certain dangerous districts—the writer holds that in 1925 fifty per cent. would be the true figure; excluding children under eleven years of age, he would bring the general average as low as twenty-five per cent.

These figures account for the peculiar character of much of the Jesuit work in Spain. Apart from their secondary schools, the Fathers were everywhere actively interested in the cause of primary education. They were aware of the obvious truth that Socialism and Communism are best combated by social work of a practical character. At Madrid, for example, the well-known Colegio Chamartín de la Rosa had organised a free elementary school for two hundred children, and the Fathers had just put up new buildings for the work when the Revolution came. At Murcia the Casa de San Jeronymo, a Jesuit establishment, included an orphan school; at Málaga, where some of the worst rioting took place last summer, the Fathers had opened a school for the children of the "Marengos"—the poorest of the fisherfolk who inhabit that Mediterranean harbour. Similar schools had been opened at Salamanca, Valencia and Saragossa; in all the education was, of course, given *gratis* with the help of private benefactions. Nor were the fathers content to open schools of their own. Other Catholic organisations were at work in the same field—notably the Ave-Maria schools founded at Granada by the famous social worker, Andrés Manjón. The Jesuits took their share in promoting these good works, and used for that purpose the Sodalities and other organisations under their control. In Barcelona, for

example, more than two thousand children were being educated *gratis* by societies under Jesuit direction; and there was similar activity in Burgos, Valladolid, Santander, Bilbao, Seville, Alicante and Palma in Majorca. Evening-classes and Sunday-schools were also promoted; in Madrid the famous Instituto de Artes e Industrias, of which more must be said, included an evening-class in which about five hundred students were able to get a complete course in mechanical engineering. It has been calculated that as many as 98,000 children owed their education to these Jesuit schools and schools under Jesuit direction. In many areas the free Catholic schools for boys and girls were better organised than the state-schools. In Madrid, for example, in 1924 there were 201 public schools with about 20,000 pupils, as against nearly five hundred free schools with 35,000 pupils.

Passing from primary to secondary education, it is to be noted that, whilst the state permitted private schools, whether under religious teachers or not, only the public state-examinations were recognised for all public diplomas including admission to the University. Hence a Catholic boy who attended a Jesuit school (or other Catholic secondary college) was compelled to face a long series of examinations before a secular, and usually hostile, jury, if he wished to pass from the school to the University. This very grave disability continued even under the Directorate of Primo de Rivera, and was a practical effect of nineteenth-century Liberalism. Yet the state-schools were less well attended than the Catholic schools. The Jesuits had twenty-one colleges, with about ten thousand pupils. In all nearly thirty thousand pupils attended the various Catholic colleges in 1924, whilst the fifty-eight state-controlled *Institutos* had only about ten thousand pupils. Catholic education was best organised in Madrid and Barcelona. In Barcelona, of the 3,500 boys attending secondary schools in the city, the Jesuits counted 1,400 pupils; and in most of the Spanish cities they had a very large share in the education

of the upper and middle classes. Catholic colleges, it should be added, were compelled to pay taxes as trading organisations, whilst the state-schools were tax-free, and had the further advantage of controlling their own examination-system.

In the field of higher education the Jesuit institutions had no official standing as universities, but were none the less much frequented. At Bilbao a Jesuit University was opened in 1887, with 200 resident students. At the time of the Revolution there were 36 Professors here, several of them being laymen. The aim of the University was to educate men who should be leaders of Catholic life, in business as well as in the professions. In Madrid the Instituto Cathólico de Artes e Industrias, which was burned in the riots of last summer, was founded by P. Pérez del Pulgar. It was an Engineering School, with 1,200 students, and specialised in Electrical Engineering. Its students to-day hold most of the leading posts in Spain. When the building was destroyed last summer, the Director took refuge in Liège with most of his professors and many of the students. The Belgian Government has already granted official recognition to their degree.

Apart from these two Institutes, there were other Jesuit enterprises, some of which have been named in the extract we have quoted from the *Church Times*. At Comillas (Santander) there was a Pontifical Seminary and University under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, which had been the *alma mater* of many of the Spanish Bishops, including the Cardinal Primate. The Chemical Institute was founded by P. Vitoria, first at Tortosa in 1905, and later (1916) at Sarriá, near Barcelona. The Biological Laboratory was founded in 1910, and the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology more recently. The Spanish Jesuits who have taken the leading part in this scientific movement are PP. E. Vitoria, J. Pujiula, Longinos Navás and F. Palmés. Father Navás has

specialised in entomology, and more than a thousand new forms and species are claimed as his discovery or the discovery of his pupils. To these names should be added the names of PP. Luis Rodés, Navarro Neumann, Ricardo Cirera and José M. Algué, who have built up the two Jesuit astronomical observatories at Tortosa (Observatorio del Ebro) and Granada. P. Algué has been for several years the Director of the famous Jesuit observatory of Manila in the Philippines—a work which owes its success to the enterprise and learning of Spanish Jesuits.

Passing from science to literary and historical studies, we find names that are familiar to students in many lands. Father Astrain's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de Espana* is a joy to all who have read it; but Astrain is only one of a fine school of Spanish Jesuit historians. P. Fidel Fita was for many years Director of the Academy of History in Madrid, and had specialised in Spanish ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages. P. Pablo Pastells had the reputation of knowing the vast stores of the Archivo de Indias at Seville better than any other living man, and his history of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay is one of the classics of modern Jesuit scholarship. P. Pablo Hernández worked in the same field, specialising in the social problems that give the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay their peculiar interest. And P. Zacarías Villada was a leading authority in Spanish-Latin palaeography. Finally, a whole group of Spanish Jesuit scholars collaborated in the great series of 62 volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, which has been in course of publication for the past thirty-five years, and which is now approaching completion. The stock of printed volumes of this series, which was stored in the Jesuit residence at Madrid, perished in the flames of last May.

To these names of Jesuits who have won distinction in the various branches of secular learning, must be added the many Fathers of the Spanish Provinces whose names

are familiar in more definitely ecclesiastical sciences. PP. Ferreres and Arregui are outstanding in Moral Theology; P. Beraza has been a principal contributor to the series known as the *Cursus Theologicus Oniensis*, of which his own volumes *De Gratia*, *De Deo Creante et Elevante* and *De Virtutibus* are probably the best known; and PP. Murillo and Bover are well-known writers on Biblical subjects. In the social sciences P. Ramón Ruiz Amado has published numerous works on matters concerning Catholic education, and has been for the past twenty years editor of the educational review, *La Educación Hispano-Americana*. Other reviews edited by the Spanish Fathers include *Razón y Fe*; *Estudios Eclesiásticos*; *Ibérica*; the Spanish *Mensajero del Corazón de Jesús*; *El Siglo de las Misiones*; and various smaller periodicals, principally for Catholic boys and girls. The editors of *Razón y Fe* had also undertaken the publication of a series of volumes on social subjects, P. Narcisso Noguer being here the principal worker.

Apart from these various works, which can all be grouped together under the general heading of educational work, some mention must be made of the charitable and apostolic work of the Spanish Fathers. There were about seventy residences of the Society in Spain at the time of the expulsion. Each of these was primarily concerned with church-work in the town, and there were in addition constant missions to the country districts. The retreat movement had been developed more actively in Spain—the home of Saint Ignatius—than in any other European country, not merely in the cities and towns, but also in the country villages. Ten retreat-houses had been opened, some of them quite recently, and the number of "Exercitants" was exceptionally large. When the expulsion was imminent some weeks ago, no less than twelve thousand men and boys, all of whom had made retreats under Jesuit directors, gathered together in a public meeting at Montserrat and issued a solemn protest against the

injustice of the Decree. And they were representative of only one Province, Catalonia. To the retreat movement must be added the organisation of Sodalities, both of men and women. In Barcelona alone there were three thousand Sodalists, and many of the other principal cities were hardly less well organised. These were the laity whose protests and resistance at the time of the rioting last May were for the most part quietly ignored in the press of the world.

Hospital work is, as a rule, not counted as proper to the Society, at least in Europe. But at Fontilles, near Alicante, P. Carlos Ferrís founded a leper-home, which came to rank as a model establishment of its kind, and more than six hundred lepers had been treated there since its foundation in 1908. The expenses of this work alone have been counted as at least six million pesetas. And there were other clinics, *patronados* and free kitchens in various cities. Add to this the work that Spanish Jesuits were doing outside of Spain—in Central and South America, where they had built up three considerable Provinces of the Society in Mexico, Argentine-Chili and Columbia, as well as important missions in some of the other South American Republics. Their work in the Philippine Islands had been handed over to the American Jesuits some years ago; but to-day Spanish missionary Fathers are working in two separate Chinese districts of the Yangtse valley and in one Indian mission area—Bombay.

The enumeration of these various works gives some adequate notion of the vast amount of activity which had gone to the building up of the five Spanish Provinces of the Society of Jesus which have now been expropriated and dissolved. It has been calculated that in recent years there were resident in Spain about 2,700 Jesuits; of these more than nine hundred were priests, nine hundred and fifty scholastics, and nearly as many lay-brothers. The part which the Spanish lay-brothers took in all this vast organisation of practical works would be difficult indeed to overestimate.

So much for the position before the Decree of Dissolution. As to the motives which have prompted an act which is in itself flagrantly unjust, and most injurious to the people in whose interests these works were being supported, little need be said. Hostility to the Jesuits has been a tradition for the past hundred years and more among almost all those elements of Spanish society which have been seeking to overturn the established order. Freemasons, Liberals, Socialists, Communists—all have agreed on this point in their various programmes. But a word of warning is needed for those who understand little of the immense complexity of Spanish society. Among the elements definitely opposed to the established order which ended so dramatically last summer, must be counted the various local nationalist movements in Catalonia, the Basque countries and Galicia. These movements, as recent events have shown, are largely Catholic in their outlook and in the ideals which inspire their promoters. And the supporters of these movements are as often as not enthusiastic defenders of the Jesuit Fathers. The twelve thousand Catalonians, for example, who protested some weeks ago against the Government's anti-Jesuit policy must have been largely, if not entirely, anti-Spanish (or rather anti-Castilian) in their sympathies; and in the Basque countries no peasant's son needs to be reminded that Ignatius and Francis Xavier were Basques in blood, if not in education.

There is no need to recall the various steps which have marked the steady progress of this latest attack on the Jesuit position in Spain. That the present Prime Minister, Azana, is the declared enemy of all Catholic interests needs no detailed proof: his speeches, which have been reported in the press of the world, make his anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit policy plain to all. The President of the Republic, Alcalá Zamora, has played a less obvious part, and it is far too early to attempt any just assessment of his share in the final responsibility. So, too, the late

Minister of the Interior, Maura, has been praised and blamed with equal vehemence. Let us leave the discussion of their personal motives to a future generation. It will be sufficient here to summarise the official Decree of January 24th, 1932. Its text can be had in full in any of the Spanish newspapers: a fairly detailed summary was published in the London *Times* of January 25th, but the important preamble of the Decree was omitted. I quote from the text of the Decree, which I have compared throughout with the *Times* translation :—

The 26th article of the Constitution of the Spanish Republic declares to be dissolved all religious orders which impose by statute, in addition to the three canonical vows, a further special vow of obedience to an authority distinct from the legitimate authority of the State. The goods of such Orders are to be nationalised and appropriated to charitable and educational purposes.

It is the office of the Government to put into execution the decisions which have been taken by the Legislature in its exercise of the national sovereignty. With reference in the concrete to this constitutional decree, the Society of Jesus being distinguished from all other religious orders by a special obedience to the Holy See, as is proved by innumerable documents and in particular by the Bull of Paul III, which is the canonical foundation of the Society's Institute and of its peculiar constitution, which in an obvious way is consecrated to the service of the Apostolic See, on the proposal of the Minister of Justice and in accord with the Council of Ministers the following has been decreed :

1. The Society of Jesus is dissolved in all Spanish territories. The State shall not recognise any juridical personality in the aforementioned religious institute, nor in its canonical provinces, houses, residences, colleges, or any other organisation directly or indirectly dependent on the Society.

2. The religious and novices of the Society of Jesus shall cease to live in community life within the national territories within ten days from the publication of this Decree . . . .

There follow eight other articles which make detailed provision for the confiscation of all Jesuit property and for the punishment of any members of the Society who may disobey this Decree. By the third article of the

Decree Jesuits are deprived of the right of disposing, either personally or through an intermediary, of any of their property, by deed or gift; and by the tenth article all Provincials and Superiors are made personally responsible for any infringement of this Decree. No provision of any kind is made for the support of the Jesuits, who are thus deprived at a blow of all means of subsistence. And the sixth article requires all registrars of property to send in to the Minister of Justice detailed lists of all bank-accounts, stocks, shares, etc., which have been held in the name of the Jesuits.

The debate in the Spanish Cortes which followed the publication of this Decree was marked by three outstanding speeches on behalf of the Society. Senor Lamamié de Clairac spoke on January 29th, and made a reasoned case against the provisions of the Decree. The Decree, he argued, was contrary to the Constitution of the new Republic, by which it is guaranteed that no man's personal freedom or rights shall be affected by his religious status. The article (26) quoted in the preamble to the Decree cannot be taken as referring to the Society of Jesus, which does not "impose" the fourth vow on all its members; and in any case this fourth vow does not add any further subjection to the Holy See than is contained in the third of the three canonical vows. [Here the wording of Article 26 is at fault, and it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the clumsy drafting of this article fails to effect the purpose which it was plainly designed to effect]. Further, the Decree is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic inasmuch as this "nationalisation" of the goods of the Society is ordered without any form of material compensation—a measure which is contrary to the meaning of the word "nationalisation" as defined in the Spanish Constitution. The Decree, he argued, is thus unconstitutional. It is also inhuman and impolitic: inhuman in its lack of all consideration for the immediate consequences of so drastic a measure; impolitic, inasmuch

as it must further embitter the strife between the various parties already formed within the Republic. The Spanish papers report that this speech was listened to in respectful silence—most of all during the delivery of a moving passage in which the deputy described the certain consequences of this Decree for the old, the sick and helpless.

A more vigorous attack on the measure was made by one of the Basque deputies, Senor Beunza, on February 2nd. The policy of the Government towards the Jesuits had been treacherous, he cried. What election programme had included this measure at the recent elections ? How many thousands of votes had been won by this silence, that would have been lost had the voters known what the Government had planned ? The Freemasons were behind this attack on the Jesuits, and had been preparing the campaign for the past five years. Shouts of protest greeted this statement, but the Basque deputy held on, reading passages from the printed programmes of Freemason Lodges and challenging his opponents to disprove his charges. Many prominent Spanish Republicans had spoken against the policy of expulsion—among them the President of the Republic. Why must they be expelled ? And he ended a vigorous fighting speech with the enumeration of all that the Spanish Jesuits had done for Spain. Could the State supply what was now being destroyed ?

At the third, and final, session of February 4th a leading Basque priest and orator, Canon Pildain of Vitoria, made a last protest against the injustice of the Decree. Like Senor Lamamié de Clairac, he began by arguing that the Decree was in conflict with rights that had been guaranteed to Spanish citizens by the Constitution of the Spanish Republic. He then went on to defend the Society against charges that are constantly being made and as constantly refuted. " The wealth of the Society,! " he cried out, and met the objection with an effective quotation from one of Bismarck's speeches. " I have not been Minister for twenty-five years without learning some-

thing," the old battler had said. "After twenty-five years I have learned something about the alleged wealth of the Jesuits, and I will tell you the wealth of the Jesuits in every land where they are to-day is not half what a single multi-millionaire or Jewish capitalist possesses. And I have yet to learn that these multi-millionaires are doing one-tenth of what the Society of Jesus has done by its schools, its colleges, its various institutions."

Turning from these charges to the positive defence of the Society, Canon Pildain made telling use of the contrast between the policy of the young Spanish Republic and the present policy of the French and German Republics, the British Empire and—most significant of all—the Republic of the United States of America. Article 50 of the Spanish Constitution binds the Governments of the Republic to be careful of all that may promote culture and well-being among the people. Is this the way to fulfil that duty imposed by the Constitution which they themselves have drafted? And the final sentences of this appeal to the Government are worth quoting in full for the light they throw on the present situation in the Basque countries of Northern Spain :—

And now, gentlemen, what feelings are we to have? Sorrow? Anger? Anything—save fear for the future of the Jesuits. One fact cannot be denied. The Society of Jesus comes back to the lands in which it has been dissolved, from which it has been expelled. There—over the graves of their persecutors—the Jesuits make their solemn answer. In the laws of history a revolution knows no pity, but hurries onwards on its course all those who strive to check its progress by flinging before its path the robes of Jesuits, the sacred vessels of the altar. It is they who do not come back. . . . As representative of the Basque people, I must make an announcement to this Government—an announcement that is no threat, but a statement of facts which our rulers must face. The Basque people have felt this Decree against the Jesuits as an insult to their faith. And I warn the Government that, behind us here who sit as deputies and protest against this Decree, stands a whole people that with difficulty can be brought to endure this insult in patience, trusting that the sons of Ignatius

will soon return and once again take possession of their houses, their residences, their institutes and laboratories and universities all that property of which they are now being robbed—but most of all, that they will return to one house and one castle : the house [Loyola] where a hero was born who (in the judgment of Menéndez Pelayo) has had more influence on the world than any general or any scholar ; the castle [Xavier] where a missionary once saw the light of day, the greatest missionary that mankind has ever known.

This appeal to Basque memories is a factor in the present situation which cannot be ignored ; but Ignatius was a Spaniard in his sympathies and in all his personal experiences, and the appeal to Spanish memories of the great days of the sixteenth century is no less effective. It was to these memories, no less than to the inherent justice of their cause, that the five Jesuit Provincials in Spain made an eloquent appeal in a document which was published last October, when the policy of the Government towards the Society was at last becoming plain. I quote from the translation which appeared in the *Irish Press* of October 26th :—

We are Spaniards, yielding to none in love of our country, and therefore we have all the rights which the law recognises as belonging to every other Spanish citizen, rights that have been confirmed by the Constitution just now being drawn up. We are sons of honourable families, and our relatives have not given up the right which blood gives them over the life, reputation and property of their sons and brothers ; nor can we allow our names, which are also theirs, to be stained with the stigma of such a penalty. The deputations of relatives of religious, which have presented themselves to the Government during the last few weeks, are a clear proof that our religious life has not loosened the ties which unite us. We are Jesuits, and as such we belong to a corporation which, though spread over all the world, has a more intimate and special connection with Spain. A Spaniard who fell, providentially wounded, while fighting for Spain, was its founder. Among his first companions Spaniards were the most distinguished. Its history, to a large extent, is Spanish and intimately connected with the peninsular and colonial history of Spain during the four centuries of its existence. The Society of Jesus has therefore all the rights of an association which is genuinely Spanish.

The document then goes on to enumerate the services rendered in the past by Spanish Jesuits to the land of their founder. What charges are urged against it and in favour of the decree of dissolution ?

It will be said that the Constitution of the Society of Jesus is incompatible with a republican form of government, or that it is natural to, and consubstantial with, a monarchical regime. An erroneous and foolish conclusion. To the Society of Jesus, as to the Church of which the Society is but a very small part, the forms of government of countries are altogether indifferent and accidental. To all of them it adapts itself equally well, such is the flexibility of its mode of work. It functions as smoothly and labours as enthusiastically in England, Italy, Belgium and Holland, all of which are monarchist countries, as it does in Austria, Germany and all the countries of America, which are republics. And it is precisely in the United States of America, the most powerful and the most democratic republic in the world, that the Society to-day is developing itself more fully, and is more universally acceptable, than elsewhere. . . . . .

We ask for neither favour nor privilege. Our only demand is to be heard and to receive justice, like every other corporation, like every other citizen.

For the moment this appeal to reason and justice has been met by violence and the unjust abuse of administrative power. The dust of conflict is still thick, and it is not easy to see how the Spanish Jesuits are going to adapt themselves to changed circumstances. Some of the larger communities have been moved to Italy, Belgium and Holland. Of the rest nothing is known for the moment, but it is not their intention to abandon their posts. And whilst striving to the best of their power to carry on the work that has so rudely been interrupted, they find their recompense in the noble words of consolation and encouragement which His Holiness has spoken to them from a heart that has also known much sorrow—*Ibant gandentes, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati*. . . . . .

AUBREY GWYNN

RICHARD CANTILLON OF BALLYHEIGUE

His Place in the History of Economics

BY JOHN C. NAGLE, M.ECON.SC.

RICHARD CANTILLON was born, probably in Ballyheigue, Kerry, about 1680, and was murdered by a servant in his London residence in 1734. His short life of fifty years is full of the most dramatic interest for his biographer. He travelled as far as Japan and Brazil, became a famous and successful banker in Paris, was a friend of John Law (the Scotchman who was primarily responsible for the great French price inflation and boom of 1720), figured in many lawsuits—and wrote one of the first complete treatises on Economics. As a business-man and financier of certain shady exploits, Cantillon might have been long forgotten; but his name has come down to us, justly famous as the author of a slender book of 450 pages, which represents one of the earliest and one of the best attempts at a theoretical work on Economics.

In recent times Cantillon has been the subject of a remarkable revival of interest, beginning with W. S. Jevons's article in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1881. Since then his *Essai* has given rise to several books and many articles by French, English and German writers.[1] The latest honour to his memory has been paid by Mr. Henry Higgs with his publication of the *Essai* in its original form, together with a translation and introduction, a reprint of Jevons's article and other material.[2] In fact, Cantillon has become a classic. Only in his own country is his name still almost unknown. Yet, if England

[1] *E.g.*, F. Hayek, *R. Cantillon, Abhandlung über die Natur des Handels in allgemeinen.* Jena, 1931; Legrand, *Richard Cantillon.* Paris, 1900.

[2] Higgs, *Life and Work of Cantillon*, London, 1931.

can claim Smith, France Quesnay, Germany List, as their own by birth, so may the Irish people justly call Cantillon theirs, though Irish scholars have consistently neglected him.

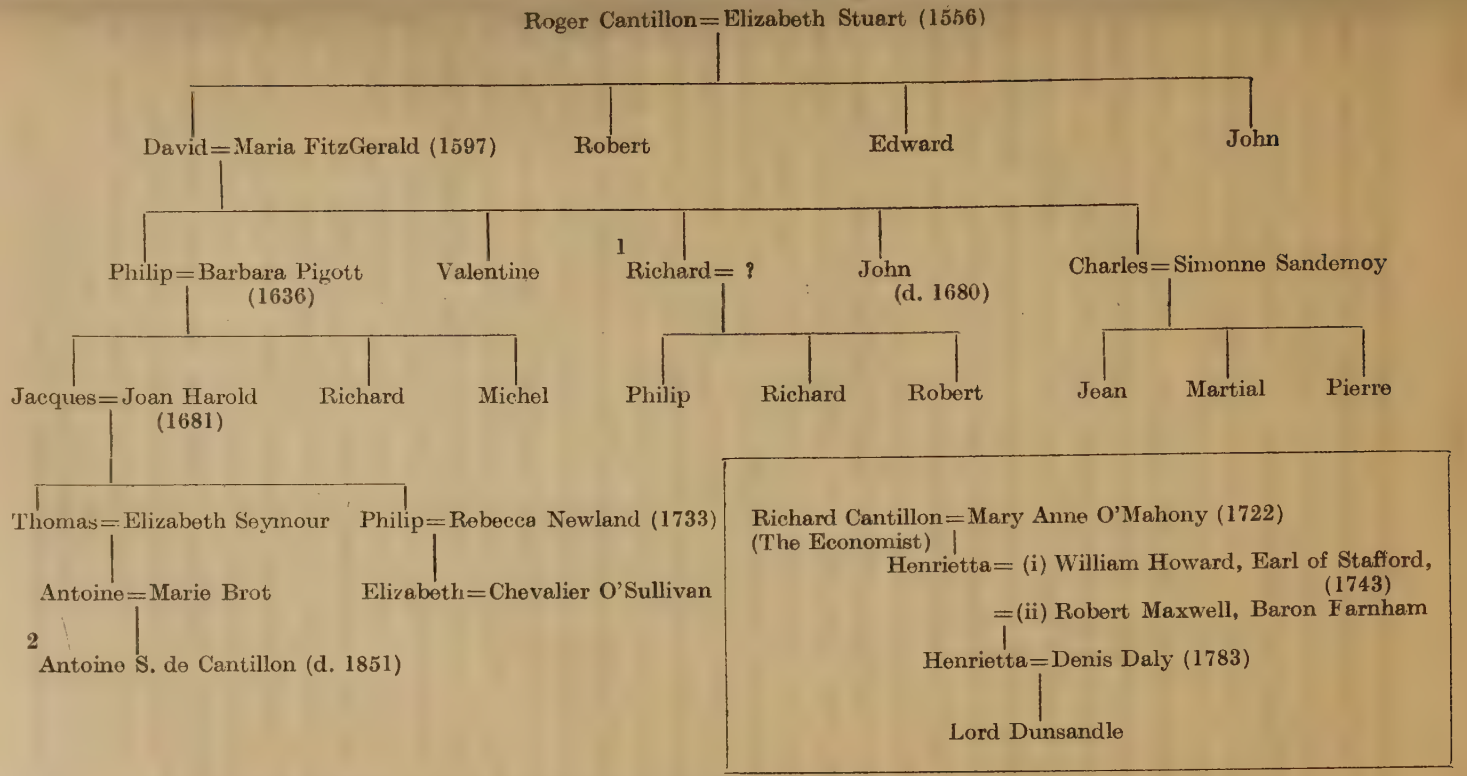
The Cantillon family is the subject of two genealogies. The *Notice historique généalogique et biographique de la famille de Cantillon, par le chevalier O'S,*[1] *Gentilhomme irlandais* (Paris, 1841) has long been utilised by writers interested in the chequered history of the Cantillons. Another genealogy that has just come to light was compiled by Joseph and Henry Cantillon de Lacouture and published at Bellac, France, in 1879. The Bellac genealogy, which serves as the basis of the biographical matter in this article,[2] tallies in most respects with the earlier one, and corrects a serious mistake by O'S.

The story of the Cantillons begins with Henry Cantillon, Norman by birth, who received for his services at the battle of Hastings a gift of land in the County Devon, and was authorised to add to his coat of arms the motto *Fortis in bello.* This motto has been of the greatest help in tracing the peregrinations of the Cantillons in several countries. Henry gave his possessions the title of Cantelou, which was subsequently corrupted into Cantelupe. A descendant of his, Eleonora de Cantelupe, married Thomas West, an ancestor of the present De La Warr family.

Henry's great grandson, William Cantillon, passed into Ireland with the Norman invaders in 1169. Towards the thirteenth century one of his children, Timothy, is said to have constructed the castle of Ballyheigue, Co. Kerry. One is tempted to draw a comparison between the name Timothy and the Irish form of Ballyheigue (Baile Uí Thaidhg), which signifies "Town of the People of Timothy." The Cantillons, we are told, "resided for several centuries in the Counties of Kerry and Limerick,

[1] The Chevalier O'Sullivan, Advocate-General in the Supreme Council of Brabant, who married (1767) Elizabeth Cantillon.

[2] I am indebted to the Editor of *Studies* for directing my attention to this genealogy, and to Mlle. Cantillon de Lacouture, Paris, for kindly lending me a copy.



1—"Receiver-General of the Exchequer for the Kingdom of Ireland."

2—Authorised by State *ordonnance* to assume the title "Baron de Ballyhigue."

where they occupied a high rank amongst the nobility." Very little is known of the history of the Cantillons from the 12th to the 15th century, except that one Eva, wife of William de Cantilupe, was a co-heiress of "the great fief of Leinster" at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1]

Troubled times were in store for the Cantillons. Like so many of the old Norman families, they aroused suspicion and anger by uniting with the Irish. Sir John Davies relates that at Limerick in 1310 William Roger was accused of murdering Roger de Cantillon. In defence, the accused maintained that Cantillon's real name was O'Driscoll, and that he was Irish. This defence prevailed, and the accused was acquitted.

The Cantillons must have been originally a powerful family, for in spite of various religious and political persecutions they appear to have held Ballyheigue until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their history during the seventeenth century is, however, one of gradual decline and successive flights into France. In 1556 the Cantillons were allied to the future Royal House of England by the marriage of Roger Cantillon, sixth Baron of Ballyheigue, and Elizabeth Stuart.[2] The Cantillons' connection with France commences towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Robert, second son of Roger, took up his abode in that country. Roger's third and fourth sons, Edward and John, were priests. Both were evidently the victims of religious persecution, for Edward died in Cork prison and John fled to France, where he became "curé de Bonnac" in the Marche-Limousine.

Naturally enough, the Cantillons warmly championed the cause of Charles I. Valentine, son of David and grandson of Roger Cantillon, fought at the battle of Naseby in 1645. He was proscribed by Cromwell and fled to Flanders. David's fourth son, John, a priest, also took refuge in

[1] Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 1920, Vol. iii, pp. 75, 103.

[2] The accompanying family-tree should be consulted from this point.

France, and strangely enough became, like his uncle John, "curé de Bonnac." There he was joined by his brother Charles, fifth son of David, who had also taken part at Naseby. Descendants of Charles existed at Bonnac up to fifty years ago.

David's eldest son, Philip, eighth Baron of Ballyheigue, left three sons, Jacques or James, Richard, and Michel or Michael. James Cantillon was the last Baron of Ballyheigue. He followed James II to France, and "showed the greatest devotion to the Royal House of Stuart." He lost his title and possessions on account of his fidelity to King James. He served in France under Villars and fought at Malplaquet, where his "glorious example" in being one of the first to cross the enemy's line at the head of a detachment of grenadiers is much praised by the genealogist. In this engagement he received eleven wounds and had his sword broken. He had the consolation of being one of the first Irish officers to be made *chevalier de Saint-Louis* by Louis XIV. His brother Richard also fought at the Boyne and came to France in the suite of James II. Richard died at Paris in 1717.

David Cantillon's fourth son, Richard, is an important personage; for the economist is regarded as his direct descendant. Very little is known of his life, except that in 1636 he was made "Receiver-General of the Exchequer for the Kingdom of Ireland" and received from Charles I "several fiefs, villages, castles, domains, situated in the County of Kerry."

Richard Cantillon, the economist, is a mysterious figure. Nothing definite is known of his parentage or of the date and place of his birth; but it seems certain that he was born in Ireland about 1680, perhaps at Ballyheigue. That he was not a French subject is shown by an affidavit sworn in 1724, in which he "admits that he is a naturall-born subject of the Crown of Great Britain."[1] According to the Bellac genealogy, the economist's grandfather or

[1] Brit. Rec. Off., Chancery Proceedings, 1441, 18 May 1724.

great-grandfather was Richard, the Receiver-General of the Exchequer for the Kingdom of Ireland, and his father or grandfather was called Henry. No further information is given about Henry, and recent investigation has failed to solve the mystery, or even to verify Henry's existence. O'S's genealogy makes no mention of him, but we are inclined to accept the testimony of the Bellac genealogy, which is very accurate on most points.

Little is known of Cantillon's life to 1717. In that year he makes a dramatic entry on the scene in the rôle of fairy prince to the creditors of his relative, Richard Cantillon,[1] who had died a bankrupt. A settlement had been made under which twenty-five per cent. of the debts were paid off; but young Richard, himself a large creditor, discharged the entire liability.[2] He had, it appears, set up as a banker in Paris only a year earlier, but it is probable that before then he was engaged in the banking and merchant business in London. He was one of the most astute bankers in Paris, and his business made tremendous progress. His fame soon spread beyond his own particular trade; "uniting an immense credit with agreeable manners and much spirit, he was sought after by the best company and lived in intimacy with persons of the first rank." This description does not agree, however, with that of his cashier, who called him a hard, unscrupulous taskmaster. Cantillon's particular friends appear to have been the Princess d'Auvergne, Lord Bolingbroke, and Edmund Gough.

Cantillon made an immense fortune by speculating in the shares of the Mississippi Company. This was the period (1719-1720) of one of the most violent speculative fevers that ever struck the French people. The mania had its origin in the wild currency schemes of the Scotchman, John Law, who had a large share of control over the finances of France at the time. Cantillon, who as a recent

[1] See above, p. 109. [2] Higgs, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

reviewer has said, was a virtuoso in currency and the foreign exchanges, saw the inherent weakness of Law's schemes and was outspoken in his criticism. The story runs that Law, growing jealous and afraid, sent for Cantillon and threatened him in the following words: "Were we in England, we would have to come to an agreement; but as we are in France, I can send you to the Bastille to-night if you do not give your word to leave the Kingdom in forty-eight hours." Cantillon is said to have replied: "I will not go, but I will make your scheme a success"—which he did by floating a great mass of paper on the strength of his own name. After this episode he prudently retired to Holland with his newly acquired wealth, and a short time afterwards returned to London, where he had a large town house.

His end was as dramatic as his life. On 13 May 1734 he had been "at the Temple and other places all Day, and particularly at a house in Queen Square, Westminster, where he supp'd," and he was "set down at his own Door at 10 at Night." At about eleven he retired to bed, taking with him a candle and book. He told his valet "he would read"—it was apparently his custom to read for several hours in bed every night. That night his house was burned to the ground. His five servants escaped, and he was the only victim. Afterwards it transpired that he had been murdered and that the assassin had fired the house in the hope of cloaking the crime. The servants were tried for murder and were acquitted after a five hours' hearing. The murderer seems to have been a Frenchman, Joseph Denier, who had been Cantillon's cook for eleven years and was dismissed only a few days before the crime.

Cantillon left what was an enormous fortune for that time. He had money in banks in London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Vienna and Cadiz; several houses, an estate and two annuities which brought in large sums every year. His will, dated 12 July 1732, provided for his wife, niece,

brothers, nephews and executors, and left the balance to his daughter Henrietta.

In 1722 Cantillon had married Mary Anne O'Mahony, daughter of a rich Paris merchant. They had one daughter, Henrietta, and a son, who appears to have died young. By her second marriage with Lord Farnham, Henrietta had one daughter, also called Henrietta. This daughter married the Rt. Hon. Denis Daly in 1783, and their son became the first Lord Dunsandle. Mr. Denis Bowes-Daly, the present owner of Dunsandle Castle, is a direct descendant of Henrietta and, therefore, of Richard Cantillon the economist.

Of the Cantillons who remained in Ireland, there are still descendants in Cork, Limerick and Kerry. Some of them appear to have lingered on for a time about the old family seat, for there is an entry (1842) relating to a Patrick Cantillon, Ballyheigue, in the *Index to Wills*, 1690-1858 (Diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe) in the Record Office. In 1908 there were eighteen Cantillon families in Kerry, but there are probably a good many less to-day. A descendant of the Ballyheigue house lives at Lixnaw, County Kerry. Maurice O'Connell, an uncle of Daniel O'Connell, married a Cantillon—probably a second or third cousin of the economist—about 1758. This was Mary, eldest daughter of Robert Cantillon, of Ballyphillip, County Limerick. Robert left no son; so his three daughters were co-heiresses of his property at Ballyphillip. They " were said to have married three of the finest men in Munster."

A branch of the Cantillon family is also said to have settled in Naples at an early date. It would be interesting to know if the Neapolitan, Domenico Cantalupo, author of a well-known essay on the corn trade (Palermo, 1783) was descended from this branch. If this were so, he would be the fourth literary member of a remarkable family; the others being Richard, the economist; Thomas, " the author of some remarkable works, amongst others a

Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède, and the *Délices du Brabant et de ses campagnes,* 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1757 " ; and finally, Martial Cantillon, an *émigré* during the Revolution and Professor of Belles-lettres in the University of Turin, who was the author of some verses of doubtful value.

At the end of the 17th century Ballyheigue passed into the hands of the Crosbie family, who held it until some twelve years ago. It is believed that the site of the old castle is now submerged, as a result of some of the numerous landslides and floods that occur on the Kerry coast from time to time. Before we close our account of the Cantillon family, it may be of interest to give in the words of Smith the old legend of the Cantillons' burial place : " The neighbouring inhabitants show some rocks, visible in this bay only at low tides, which they say are the remains of an island that was formerly the burial-place of the family of Cantillon, who were the antient proprietors of Ballyheigh : which place is now the seat of James Crosbie, Esq., whose estate extends from the bottom of the bay to Kerry-head."[1]

Richard Cantillon's Economics

Richard Cantillon, banker, speculator and busy man of affairs, is the last person one would think of crediting with an abstract work on Economics. Yet he thought nothing of making journeys around Europe to verify statements made in his book, *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général.* His contact with men of affairs and his own banking experience undoubtedly sharpened his mind and gave him that wonderful understanding of monetary questions which is such a feature of the *Essai.* In the following pages we shall try to estimate his importance in the history of Economics.

Generally speaking, the merchants were the dominant

[1] C. Smith, *Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry,* 1756, p. 210.

class in England at the time. The prevailing economic theories, therefore, laid particular stress on the importance of foreign trade. Unlike their successors of a hundred years later, contemporary writers—or mercantilists, as they are styled—favoured government control of foreign trade as well as of all other branches of a nation's economic life. They gave priority to foreign trade over other occupations as the best way of increasing the national wealth, for is not gold the best means of procuring wealth and is not foreign trade the only method of procuring gold ? Manufactures came next in esteem, while agriculture was relegated to a subordinate position. This hierarchical conception of occupations was strengthened by a prevailing theory which stressed the part played by labour in determining value. A manufactured article was said to be the result of relatively more labour than an agricultural product. Its makers therefore employed relatively more people, hence its higher value to the nation.

A renewed interest in land and agriculture appeared, however, towards the end of the seventeenth century. In France writers like Boisguillebert and Sully began to teach that land is the chief source of wealth, and to attack the theory that ascribed undue importance to the precious metals. The death of Louis XIV was the signal for a violent reaction against the policy and conditions of his time. France was weakened by continual wars, which resulted in crushing taxation and the exhaustion of the nation's finances. Manufactures were depressed, capital was scarce. Conditions were creating an atmosphere congenial to the framing of new economic theories. The old established ideas, founding a nation's greatness on her manufactures and foreign trade, were seen to be a quite insufficient criterion of national prosperity. It was natural, then, that thinkers should begin to examine the importance of land and agriculture and to concentrate more on the internal economic structure of the nation.

John Law, that extraordinary financier and monetary theorist, quite unwittingly helped to strengthen the reaction in favour of land and agriculture. The orgy of speculation in which his schemes caused the French people to indulge, resulted in the ruin of many landed proprietors. Land passed into the hands of a new set of owners, mainly recruited from the artisan class, who cultivated their new possessions with their customary zeal. Land which had long remained dormant, so to speak, was elevated to the rank of a productive power. The time was now really ripe for the formulation of new theories, and now we come into contact with Richard Cantillon and the economic ideas to which he gave rise.

"The Land is the Source or Matter from whence all Wealth is produced. The Labour of man is the Form which produces it: and Wealth in itself is nothing but the Maintenance, Conveniencies, and Superfluities of Life."[1] This is Cantillon's fundamental teaching, but the main interest of his *Essai* lies in his treatment of land. We are, he reminds us, dependent on the land for our food and clothing. If the landed proprietors enclosed their lands, people would starve and be naked.[2] Agriculture is therefore of paramount importance in the economic life of the nation.

Cantillon then proceeds to his theory of circulation—probably his greatest contribution to Economics. Up to this time writers had troubled themselves but little with the question of how the national income is distributed amongst the people. The paradox, indeed, of the mercantilist teaching was that, while it was so strongly nationalistic as to assume an antagonism of interests between various nations, it nevertheless overlooked the possibility of an antagonism of interests arising between the different classes within the country. It was concerned

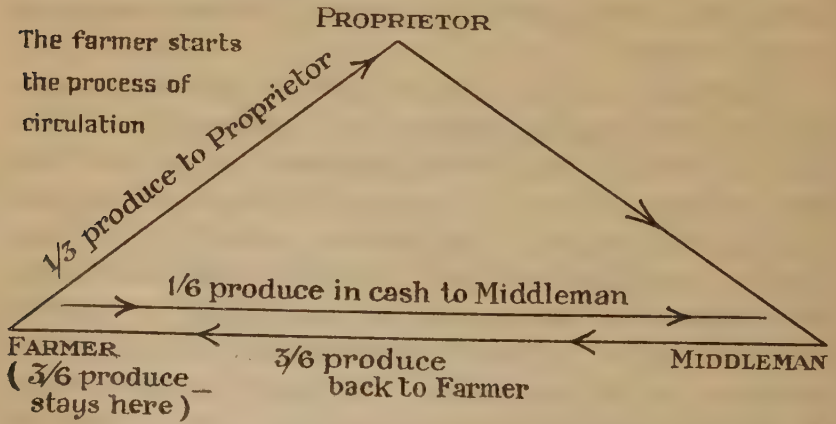
[1] *Essai sur le commerce*, p. 3. [2] *Essai* p. 43.

(All references in this article are to the translation in Higgs, *op. cit.*).

with the distribution of money amongst nations, but failed to examine how money is distributed within the state.

Cantillon tells us that a farmer's takings may be divided into three parts. First, there is the "principal and true Rent"[1] which he pays to the landlord. The second part pays for the upkeep of labourers and animals, and the third represents the profit of his undertaking. In other words, after expenses and profits have been paid, agriculture yields a third rent, which is handed to the proprietors.

Now comes Cantillon's classic account of the actual movement of money amongst the various classes of society. The circulation of money begins with the landlord, who spends little by little the rents which the farmers have paid him in bulk. These rents pass by degrees into the hands of middlemen, such as butchers, bakers, brewers and so on. These middlemen accumulate their receipts in order to buy beef, wheat, rye, etc., from the farmer. Cantillon thus ascribes a farmer-landlord-middleman-farmer motion to the money which the farmer originally pays as rent to the landlord—a process roughly indicated by the following diagram.



This splendid attempt at analysing the flow of money in a country and indicating thereby the annual incomes

[1] *Essai*. p. 121.

of the various classes is a landmark in the history of Economics, for it represents the first effort to cope with one of the principal subjects of the science. Cantillon differs from his predecessors, Locke and Petty, in regarding circulation as the circular flow of money *among the several classes of society*, and not as the mere movement of money from hand to hand. In this connection he made an interesting and what is nowadays a very familiar proposal, the taxation of rent. In the course of a criticism of Vauban's famous plan for a Royal Tithe, he declares: "If the taxes on land were levied in Money proportionable to the rents of the Proprietors it would be fairer."[1]

Cantillon's suggestion for a tax on agricultural rent raises the whole question of the right of property in land. His views on this question present a remarkable contrast to the prevailing English theory, advanced by Locke, that property rights, arising antecedently to government, are inviolable owing to their origin in labour. "It does not appear," Cantillon says, "that Providence has given the Right of the Possession of Land to one Man preferably to another: the most antient Titles are founded on Violence and Conquest."[2] At the very beginning of the *Essai* he says that the original purpose of laws was to vest the landed property of a conquered country in the hands of the officers or favourites of the conqueror, "according to their Merit or his Pleasure."[3]

This subversive view of property is enhanced by Cantillon's description of the functions of the landed proprietor. The landlord, he thinks, whose title has no stronger basis than violence and conquest, has in his hands the economic destinies of the majority of the people. The indulgence of his least whim can throw people out of employment, and even the very nature of industrial pursuits is influenced by his actions.[4] The trend of population depends principally on "the Taste, the Fashions, and Modes of Living of the Proprietors of Land," which

[1] *Essai*, p. 159. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 31. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 5. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 63, *cf.* p. 65.

can also "cause variations in the Market-prices of all things."[1]

Such a theory naturally leads one to ask if such an economic system is sound, whether some change in the distribution of landed property is not desirable. This point was ignored by the Physiocratic writers who followed Cantillon. On other matters they clearly show his influence. They brought the reaction in favour of land and agriculture a step further, making the agriculturist the only productive worker in a country. Their theory of circulation, which is the chief basis of their fame, was undoubtedly borrowed from Cantillon. On the other hand, they differed from Cantillon in making property in land an inviolable right.

Later on, Cantillon's views on landed property appear again in the writings of a group of agrarian reformers, who made the theory the basis of a vigorous denunciation of the existing distribution of land. Charles Hall,[2] Bronterre O'Brien and William Carpenter called for the nationalisation of land. Thomas Spence[3] ascribed working-class misery to the unjust appropriation of land by landlords. J. S. Mill held that the State is entitled to dispossess entirely the owners of landed property. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Henry George[4] maintained "the equal rights of all men" to be as "clear as their equal right to breathe the air." The movement was carried on by Alfred Russell Wallace[5] and H. M. Hyndman.[6] In recent years the proposal for the confiscation of rent has been extended so as to apply to all forms of unearned income. The tiny seed let fall by Cantillon has become a mighty growth.

Cantillon is reminiscent of Ricardo in his apparent unconsciousness of the possible interpretations that could

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[1] *Essai*, p. 59.

[2] *On the Effects of Civilisation on the People in European States*, London, 1805.

[3] *The Meridian Sun of Liberty*, London, 1796.

[4] *Progress and Poverty*, London, 1884.

[5] *Land Nationalisation: its Necessity and its Aims*, London, 1882.

[6] *The Text Book of Democracy: England for All*, 1881.

be placed on his theory, but we are not to conclude that he favoured the nationalisation of land or the confiscation of rent. Such questions could have hardly arisen in his time. He seemed to regard the concentration of property as inevitable, and his whole outlook in this respect was coloured by a prevailing French view, which regarded the land of a nation as the property of the sovereign and which could not envisage the possibility of the rights of property being discussed.

Cantillon's theory of circulation is his most remarkable achievement, but his views on foreign trade are none the less interesting. He thinks that the great aim of every country in foreign trade should be to export manufactured goods in return for agricultural produce.[1] He is utterly opposed to the export of agricultural produce, for this practice leads to the weakening of the nation by the loss of population.[2] These opinions may appear commonplace enough to the modern reader, who knows that the economic policy of England for the past hundred years has been to import most of her foodstuffs and export her manufactured goods. Cantillon, however, strongly disapproved of the nation's placing itself in such a position as to be largely dependent on other countries for its food. Could he envisage the possibility of a country like England specialising in the production of manufactured goods, his opinion of such a practice would be quite unfavourable. It would be well to remember, however, that Cantillon's advocacy of a large population was strongly prompted by martial considerations, and hardly at all by a desire for the economic good of the people as a whole.

Cantillon's remarks on the function of the State in foreign trade have a deep significance for the modern reader. He describes how the Dutch used to import wheat from the Indies and resell it throughout the Continent at low but profitable prices. England and France, he declares, would be wrong to follow the policy

[1] *Essai*, 225. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

of Holland. The former kingdoms have within them the means of clothing their women with native products; therefore they should forbid their subjects to import foreign materials, even when these are cheaper than the home product. They should not permit the weakening of their productive powers nor place themselves in a position of dependence on foreigners. In these few lines Cantillon gave the lie two centuries ago to the " buy in the cheapest market " type of economist. He shows strongly the influence of mercantilism, but his conception of nationalism is all-embracive. It is not coloured by class interests, but has some of the breadth of List's outlook. Several other parts of Cantillon's *Essai* have indeed the ring of a List invective against free-trade. He uses the great protectionist argument of the necessity for industrial education, and declares that no class should impede the all-round development of a country. He admonishes countries not to be the dupes of other nations in foreign trade.[1] We can sympathise with him in this; for was not India, in a sense, the dupe of England when her markets were being flooded with cheap Lancashire goods? And cannot England be said to have been until lately the dupe of the U.S.S.R., since the latter country was exporting to England goods which had a lower labour cost than the corresponding British materials?

Cantillon's references to the precious metals are of the conventional seventeenth century type. Foreign trade is important, because it helps the nation to obtain gold and silver. These metals are the true stock in reserve of a nation, and their greater or lesser quantity determines the comparative greatness of states; for they are a permanent measure of value, and can be always used to purchase whatever a country wants, even from its very enemies.[2] These remarks are all typically mercantilist, yet how full of force for the modern reader who remembers the bitterness caused not long ago by the withdrawal of

[1] *Essai*, p. 77. [2] *Ibid.*, *pp.* 89, 91.

gold from London by France and other countries! Gold withdrawals may be only a symptom of prevailing economic and political conditions, but many people are still apt to regard them as a cause and not as an effect of depressed trade.

The more one studies modern conditions, the more one is struck with the present-day relevancy of Cantillon's theories of foreign trade, and therefore of the general mercantile opinion of the seventeenth century. Fifty years ago mercantilist ideas were scouted as being utterly untenable. To-day we find every important country ensconced behind high tariff walls. France, for example, is practising Cantillon's theories almost to the letter. She is almost self-supporting, is protected by high tariffs, and though perhaps not officially, seems bent on attracting gold. A friend who was in Paris some months ago told me that one could then purchase a French motor-car at half price, provided it was immediately shipped out of the country. What is this but an effort to improve her trade balance? Every country has reasoned in the same manner as Cantillon, that it is better to put up with a high cost of living than to allow home manufactures to be injured by free imports. Even in England, the Conservative Party (which, as Professor Siegfried reminds us, was almost solidly free-trade thirty years ago[1]) seems to have become largely protectionist. In the recent General Election there, one of the main issues was concerned, though not perhaps ostensibly, with tariffs. The idea that unrestricted international trade is good for all parties has almost disappeared. Even countries like Australia and Canada, which are racially English to a very large extent, seem to have become so convinced that one country's gain is another's loss in foreign trade, that they are loathe to agree to anything like the Empire Free Trade proposals of Lord Beaverbrook. A new-born mercantilism seems to have gripped the great trading countries. This always

[1] *England's Crisis*, 1930, pp. 176-177.

whose " mind has long been exercised by what is surely an extraordinarily impressive fact, that the Catholic Church has reserved her sanction of the modern system of interest." One need not, of course, hold that Cn. 1543 is a " sanction of the modern system," though many distinguished scholars do (for example, Vermeersch) ; but at least the Canon deserves mention, and even discussion, in any treatment of the question of interest. More especially is this the case, when for the last ten years or so this Canon has been a burning topic of controversy among Catholic moralists and economists in Europe. In Germany alone two big books,[1] from opposite points of view, and at least a score of long articles from the pens of practically every Catholic sociologist of note, have appeared in quite recent times.

Mr. Somerville speaks of " the medieval attitude to loan interest." He does not give any definition of " loan interest " or " interest " ; so it is not easy to know exactly what he means. But the attitude which he describes as being the " medieval attitude " is by no means confined to the Middle Ages. Apart altogether from the question of usury in the strict theological sense, which the Church has always condemned and must condemn, as being against the natural, the divine, and the ecclesiastical laws, there has always been in the Church and among Catholic students of social economics a considerable body of opinion inclining to the view that " interest " in any form is not only economically and socially undesirable, but even ethically wrong. It is true that the holders of this opinion come back ultimately to the assertion that all " interest " is of its nature " usury " of a masked and modified kind ; but that is also precisely what characterised the so-called " medieval attitude." For example, Bossuet writing in the seventeenth century in his *Traité*

[1] Dr. Franz Zehentbauer : *Das Zinsproblem*, 1920. Anton Orel : *Das kanonische Zinsverbot*, 1930. Cf. also Dessauer : *Kooperative Wirtschaft*, 1929, pp. 50-70. Eberle, *Katholische Wirtschaftsmoral*, p. 1921, p. 77. Messner : *Sozialökonomik u. Sozialethik*, 1928, p. 70.

de l'Usure[1] maintains that the Divine Law in forbidding usury forbids everything that is equivalent to usury; for with God it is not a question of names of things, but of their essences. Concina, the great Dominican moral theologian, writing in the eighteenth century was inclined to condemn as heretics those Catholic writers (among them Ledesma and Pichler, both Jesuits) who were defending the taking of interest under certain conditions and on certain titles. Concina was also one of the Commission appointed by Benedict XIV to examine Scipio Maffei's notorious work, *Dell 'impiego del denaro* (1744), and consequently a joint author of the Constitutio "Vix pervenit" of November 1st, 1745, with its celebrated five propositions dealing with usury and interest. The importance of this Constitution lies in the fact that it was written, not in the Middle Ages, but at a time when the modern system of loans and interest was already in a fairly advanced stage of development.

In the nineteenth century Vogelsang and the very vigorous school of thinkers whom he gathered round him took up a definite position of hostility to the modern "capitalistic system" precisely on the point of "interest". Vogelsang's successors, the Viennese school of Catholic sociologists grouped round Dr. Karl Lugmayer, or Anton Orel, or perhaps to some extent Dr. Eberle, editor of the *Schönere Zukunft*, are the chief protagonists of the intellectual duel going on for the last ten or eleven years over this question of "interest" and the allied question of "property"; and the buttons have long ago been taken off the foils. The Dominican Fr. A. Horváth's *Eigentumsrecht nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin* (a book which would open the eyes of some Catholics as to how great latitude the Church allows in theories of private property) may be taken, together with Anton Orel's imposing, if puzzling, work *Revision der Modernen Wirtschaftsauffas-*

[1] *Oeuvres complètes:* Paris: 1846—tome IX., p. 63. Cf. a good analysis of the *Traité* in *Revue du Clergé Francais*, 1898, tome XVI., p. 179.

sung: Oeconomia Perennis and Dr. Lugmayer's small booklets, as to some extent representative of one side. On the other side stand most of the other Catholic economists and moralists of Austria and Germany. The latest development has been Orel's very remarkable work *Das kanonische Zinsverbot*, a book written evidently under the influence of a *saeva indignatio* against the whole capitalistic system. To read it is like attending at the court-martial and summary execution of some of the most prominent moralists and social writers of recent times. Orel is, of course, a loyal Catholic—but in about seventy pages of his book Lehmkuhl, Cathrein, Biederlack, Pesch, Devas, Tanquerey, Cardinal van Roey, Périn, Vermeersch, and half a dozen others equally prominent as theologians or economists, are heard, condemned and despatched out of hand. I have read few books on economics so entertaining and exciting, so instructive and suggestive—but, I must add, it is disedifying and unconvincing.

Enough has been said to show that the realisation of the ethical evil and the economic and social undesirability of "loan interest" is neither so "medieval" nor so "modern" as Mr. Somerville seems to think. It is, in fact, just portion of that permanent treasury of social thought which belongs to the Catholic Church, the *Oeconomia Perennis* of Orel. Yet the Church, as distinct from individual theologians, has never been too inclined to brand economic transactions with her definitive disapproval. "There is no doubt," writes Mr. Somerville, "that up to the sixteenth century the Canonists prohibited as usury much of what we now-a-days allow as interest." Unfortunately that is a point which is very much in doubt. I only wish that Mr. Somerville would give a single well-authenticated instance, between the Council of Elvira in 305 or 306 and the 5th Lateran in 1515, in which any precise contract for interest which the Church allows to-day was condemned or prohibited

as usury. It is exactly what I am looking for at the moment. It is, of course, quite possible that such was the case; but between "quite possible" and "there is no doubt" lies a long and laborious road. Indeed, it is very doubtful if our precise types of modern contracts for interest were even known in the Middle Ages; at least it is not easy to find a perfectly convincing proof either of their existence or of the judgment passed on them, supposing they existed. It is true that the word "usury" was used probably for every kind of interest condemned; but then such interest was called "usury" because it was usury—veiled and modified perhaps, but still essentially usury. Fr. Vermeersch, who has some weight in this matter, writes of the early period, the period of the Fathers: "Mais dans les accents émus et véhéments qui, dans l'Eglise grecque comme dans l'Eglise latine, retentissent pour condamner d'immenses excès, trouvons-nous que tout prêt à intérêt est formellement convaincu d'injustice? Nullement, si nous ne voulous pas nous fier en aveugle à quelques passages isolés de leur contexte." And dealing with the later period, after Gratian and up to Innocent III., he writes: "Toute sévère qu'elle fût dans ses expressions, la législation canonique suppose constamment des intérêts ruineux, accablants pour les pauvres; elle ne dit pas expressément que tout intérêt soit contraire à la justice; et c'est à peine si l'on y trouve une trace de ce que plus tard l'on a appelé les titres ou raisons extrinsèques qui légitiment un intéret modéré." [1]

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[1] *Dictionnaire Apologétique*, II., 1083, 1085. This article was written in 1911, but Fr. Vermeersch gives no sign in his more recent writings—*e.g.*, Linzer *Quartalschrift* (1928, p. 762) or his Commentary on the Code—of having changed his view. Mr. Somerville may have been influenced by an article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, also by Fr. Vermeersch, which could easily puzzle even a careful reader. In vol. XV., p. 236, Fr. V. writes: "The canonical laws of the Middle Ages absolutely forbade the practice" [of taking interest for money lent]. But a few lines farther down we read: "With the exception of c. 27 of the IV. Council of Lateran, we know of no canon law which takes into consideration the question of moderate interest, and canon law nowhere states distinctly that interest is, under any circumstances whatsoever, contrary to justice." As a matter of fact, there does not seem ever to have been unanimity on the question as to which precise contracts in actual use

I have no wish that the "ipse dixit" of Fr. Vermeersch should be taken as final; there are other authors, especially Orel, who disagree with him in practically everything he has said on the subject. But most writers would hesitate before the categorical "There is no doubt." It seems clear that St. Antoninus and St. Bernardine of Sienna, both of whom lived well before the sixteenth century, hesitated to condemn or prohibit certain practices as regards taking interest which went on under their eyes in Florence and elsewhere. And both are the economists *par excellence* among the saints, and neither was in the habit of mincing his words on matters of which he disapproved. But Mr. Somerville's article was only incidentally connected with ethical and historical questions, and it would be a little unfair to stress the points mentioned above, were it not that they have at present a considerable importance for Catholics and are likely to have still more in the near future.

The chief economic and social evil of loan interest is, in Mr. Somerville's opinion, its fixity. As I mentioned before, his article does not contain any precise definition of interest; what is meant by that term has to be gathered from the context. Four categories of interest seem to be before the author's mind: (i.) Government Debts, (ii.) local (municipal) loans, (iii.) industrial debentures, and (iv.) bank deposits. But he gives a more general description of the type of interest to whose fixity (if not

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were *ex forma contractus* equivalent to the gratuitous contract of *mutuum*, and hence could be the occasion of usury. Henry of Ghent (Gandavensis), writing in 1276 and 1277, condemned a certain form of contract as usurious (*Quodlib.* I., q. 39 and II. q. 15). His opinion was challenged almost at once as evidently something novel, and the Dominican Giles of Lessines (Aegidius Luscinus) seems to be referring to him when in his *De Usuris in communi* (the only complete treatise on usury we have from that period) he combats this very view, naming as his adversaries Godefrid (Goffredus, Cardinal and commentator of the Decretals of Gregory IX.) and another learned doctor (supposed to be Henry of Ghent). Henry, however, came back to the question in his *Quodlibet.* VIII., q. 24, probably in 1285. But he seems to have met an even more distinguished opponent this time in the Franciscan Richard of Middleton. It is but an example of the unsettled nature of the doctrine as to usury even in the Middle Ages (Cf. Hocedez: *Richard de Middleton* (Louvain, 1925), p. 414; also an article by same author in *Ephem. Theol. Louv.*, 1926). A recent article in *Coll. Gandav.* (Feb. 1930, tome XVII.) gives a good summary of the question of usury in the Middle Ages and a reasoned statement of the Church's position to-day.

very existence) he is opposed—interest paid on savings which are not invested in capital goods. " In so far as interest encourages saving without investment, that is, without conversion into capital goods, it encourages waste, unemployment and business losses " (p. 634). It is not clear whether we are to take " capital goods " strictly, or whether the term is meant to cover also things which are not strictly " capital goods " and yet do contribute in a real way to the production of wealth : for instance, the preservation of law and order, the lighting of the streets, even the providing of liquid resources (money) to enable a manufacturer (who has sunk all his own money in fixed capital goods, machinery, etc.) to start the process of production and exchange. It is, I think, in harmony with Mr. Somerville's real views, if we say that he would wish no interest to be paid on money (or savings) which did not in some way or other contribute to the production of wealth, and that the amount of interest paid should depend on the amount of actual effective contribution given by any particular sum of money—" should be contingent on, and in some measure proportionate to, the value produced with the capital." The essence of his position seems to be (as he himself suggests) the same as that of the Church with regard to usury : before interest is paid for a loan of money there must be, apart from the mere fact of the loan, some true title to that interest. That is a position which I suppose, all Catholic moralists and economists would (and do) maintain.

It is worth while to enquire, however, (i.) to what extent interest is really paid on savings which in no way contribute to the production of wealth, (ii.) to what extent savings receive more than they really produce, and (iii.) how far " interest " is really " fixed." We can examine in turn each of the four categories of loans mentioned above.

" If it be questioned," writes Mr. Somerville (p. 634-5),

" whether there is any interest paid on savings without investment, the answer is not in doubt. Huge amounts of money lie idle as bank deposits in times of bad trade and when confidence is lacking." There are no figures given to show (i.) the amount of money so lying idle, (ii.) the portion of that idle money on which interest is paid, or (iii.) the length of time for which these amounts lie idle. On the face of it, the average amateur finds it hard to believe that " huge amounts " lie idle for any considerable time and that nevertheless a fixed interest is paid continually on these amounts. It is intelligible, of course, that a bank might have £1,000,000 lying idle for (say) six months and would pay 3 per cent. per annum to the depositors of that money, provided that during the other six months this £1,000,000 was not idle, but earning 6 per cent. per annum. All banks must keep a certain amount of money (savings) lying idle, but then they do not pay interest on all the money deposited with them—and, especially, they do not pay interest on their own capital or reserves. We should take, for our purpose, the total amount of money which a bank has at its disposal, including customers' deposits (savings) and the bank's own capital and reserves. Now, it seems clear (i.) that on this total sum of money a " fixed " rate of interest is not paid, (ii.) that so long as the deposits lying idle do not amount to more than the bank's own capital, we cannot truly say that interest is being paid on idle savings. For what happens at the end of a year, when a bank has had idle deposits equivalent to its own capital lying in its vaults for twelve months ? In all probability there is no dividend paid to the bank's shareholders : in other words, that amount of money has not been producing wealth, therefore no interest is paid on it. For practical purposes a bank's capital (and reserves) are always (if we may so crudely put it) the first portion of the bank's money to lie idle : they act as a kind of shock-absorber. If a greater amount than the bank's capital

has been lying idle for a year, then not only will no dividend be paid, but to pay the interest on the deposits, recourse will have to be had to the reserves. But that is precisely one of the purposes of a reserve: it is wealth produced by the depositors' money in good times, not paid out in interest, but stored up against a rainy day. Crudely put once again, the depositors have virtually agreed to forego a certain amount of the wealth produced by their savings each year, in order that in bad times their income may still be reasonably stable. This, it might be claimed, is economically and socially a prudent and sound scheme. It is a good thing that a certain portion of a person's income should remain stable, and that the inevitable variations and wobblings of the productive power of a nation should only apply to a certain portion of the incomes—should be "absorbed" (as shocks) by people who are better prepared by foresight or reserve-power to bear them.[1]

As to the *fixed* nature of the interest paid on bank deposits: in the first place, banks do not generally pay a fixed rate over long periods; the deposit-rate is variable. In the second place, when we take into account the whole of the money involved in any bank's business, we find that the rate is really not fixed, but very sensitively elastic. True, the deposits may bear a fixed yearly rate, but then the dividend on the capital varies; so that the return from deposits plus capital is a variable quantity—varying with the amount of wealth produced by deposits plus capital. If 3 per cent. is paid on £200,000,000 deposits, and a variable dividend of 10 per cent, 15 per cent., 20 per cent. on £2,000,000 of capital, then the rate

[1] From a practical economic point of view one must look upon *all* the money employed by any given bank in its business as a single unit. Some of the money will be earning 5 per cent., some 8 per cent., some none for varying periods of the year. We cannot parcel out any particular set of deposits and say: "That parcel of money is not earning any interest; it has been lying idle for twelve months." There has to be a certain margin and elasticity, and the total sum of money earned by the bank as a whole is really earned by the united contribution of everything—deposits, capital, clerks, directors, etc., all working together.

of interest on the £202,000,000 involved in productive economic functions is, taken as a whole, not fixed but variable. It is a matter of convenience, and from many points of view economically and socially advantageous, that the variations should be limited to a certain definite sum which fulfils the important function of "shock-absorber" or "bumper." But the main point I am trying to make is that when all allowances and calculations are made, there are not "huge amounts" of money lying idle on which a fixed rate of interest is paid—certainly not for long periods.

The same line of argument applies to the interest paid on industrial debentures. No one will deny that debentures represent "capital goods" engaged in production in some form or other. Consequently, the people whose money is represented by the debentures have a true claim to a share in the wealth produced by the machinery, etc., bought by their money. Once again, it has been found convenient, and is (I maintain) economically and socially useful, that the total capital involved in an enterprise should be divided into two portions, one of which will act as a buffer to soften the effects of the variations in the productive power of the money invested. It has been virtually agreed that the amount of money represented by debentures shall always (by an economic fiction, if you wish) be regarded as producing a certain definite amount of wealth always the same. It does produce wealth, all agree; but one year more, another year less. Now, because many people wisely wish to have a stable income, they are willing to average out the varying annual production due to them. And it is socially desirable that large sections of the community should have a steady, stable flow of purchasing power; it keeps demand constant and uniform, and allows accurate forecasts. Other people are willing, and can afford, to risk considerable variation in their income—or at least in part of it. They are willing to do with less than is strictly due

to them one year, knowing that in another year they will get more than is due, *i.e.*, more than their invested money has really produced. These ordinary shareholders perform a true social service both as regards shouldering the risks necessary for progress and as regards controlling the effects of the variability of a nation's productive capacity. At any rate, debentures are not (nor does Mr. Somerville say they are) " savings without investment " ; and as to the " fixity " of the interest on them, there is much to be said for securing that there exists in any economic unit a large, constantly uniform, fixed, real demand. As we shall see later, one of the chief causes of the present crisis is precisely the sudden breakdown in this effective demand.

A third form of interest mentioned by Mr. Somerville is that paid on loans to local authorities. This need not delay us long. Such loans do really contribute to the production of wealth by making it possible for economic life to be organised at all ; streets, lighting, etc., all play a part in production. Hence the people who put their money into local loans are really " investing " it in a way beneficial to the community, and they have a right to some share in the wealth produced by the whole unit. The interest is, of course, fixed ; but it can be changed by conversions or repayment, if it is found to represent substantially more than the money invested is contributing to production. The whole theory of loans for municipal development cannot be gone into here, but I imagine Mr. Somerville would have very little quarrel with it. It is merely a question of spreading out the costs of some beneficial work over the generations who are likely to profit from it. Ethically, economically and socially it is generally admitted to be sound. Mr. Somerville's objection would much more likely rest on the fact that we cannot accurately estimate the exact amount of new wealth produced by the works which are financed by local loans. That must be admitted ; but it is probable

that the amount will remain fairly constant (of its nature it does not vary quickly), and hence a "fixed" interest has much to be said for it.

The fourth type of loan mentioned by Mr. Somerville, is National Debt. So far as regards that portion of the National Debt which is employed in providing the necessary conditions for any economic production, what has been said of local loans applies here equally well. Money spent by the State on capital works—roads, drainage, harbours, etc.—is money truly invested and contributing its share to the productive capacity of the whole community, and consequently it earns a right to a certain share in the final product. The economic and social advantages of paying interest, and a "fixed" interest, on this portion of the debt are considerable and fairly obvious.

But the greater part of National Debts now-a-days consist of debts incurred for no really productive purpose. What happened during the Great War, to take only the most striking example, was that various governments took loans of wealth from the hard-earned savings of their citizens, and instead of using this wealth to produce more wealth, instead of investing it or even preserving it idle and unfruitful, they deliberately destroyed it. The various communities are now trying to pay interest on an amount of wealth (or a sum of money) that is not producing wealth, that has not been transformed into another form of wealth, that is not even lying idle somewhere, but has simply gone up in smoke. Here, I agree with Mr. Somerville, is a case that looks extremely like the strict usury of canonists.

France, Belgium and Italy realised that commonsense was with them when they relieved themselves of about four-fifths or more of this dead-weight of war debt by stabilising their currency well below par. England, on the contrary, with her traditional respect for formal financial integrity, deliberately increased her burden of

unproductive debt by stabilising the pound at par. It may be that those responsible[1] felt that London's position and earnings as the money-centre of the world were vital to the economic life of England and could only be maintained by her being on the Gold Standard; and undoubtedly everything goes to show that there was solid ground for this view. But by going back to the Gold Standard in 1925 England set in motion the causes which contributed largely to bring about the present crisis. It was not, as Mr. Somerville's article suggests, " the economic and social evils arising from the system of loan interest, ... from the very nature of interest itself," nor was it chiefly or precisely the " fixity " of interest, but rather the fact that real incomes, instead of remaining " fixed " over long periods, were suddenly and artificially varied in 1924-1925. This, it is true, was connected with the " fixed " nature of interest; but the true cause was that real incomes did not remain " fixed "—or at least changed too suddenly and too violently.

Any country, or economic unit, only produces a certain definite amount of wealth each year. This annual product is divided up among different sections of the community in a more or less automatic way. Over a period of years if the share of each section remains fairly constant and uniform (as it normally should and does), then a certain fairly constant and uniform demand arises from each section: a demand regulated and " specified," as philosophers would say, by the size of the share, the purchasing power and the social milieu and customs of each section. On this steady demand agriculturalists, manufacturers, importers build up their economic organisation and business methods. As we have seen, throughout the economic system there are scattered " shock-absorbers " or " buffers " which soften the effects of the

[1] It is clear that the return to the Gold Standard was a great gain to all creditors—especially, therefore, to the banks, finance houses, and money-lenders of London, who would now receive 20s. for every 15s., 16s., or 17s. they lent. Human nature being what it is, some such consideration may possibly have had a certain influence on those charged with making the decision.

inevitable small variations in economic conditions. Now, if the shares (of one or two sections) in the total annual product of the community were suddenly and permanently changed to a considerable degree—say, enlarged by one-third or one-quarter—it stands to reason that the shares of the other sections must be reduced by a corresponding amount. What could cause such a sudden change? It seems probable that one thing and one thing only could act *suddenly* so as to bring about a change affecting the whole of the community. The shares of each section are measured and calculated automatically by means of a definite unit of value, a definite unit of measurement—say, the £. If the value of this unit was suddenly changed, assuming the amount of real wealth to be divided up remains the same, then the shares of each section of the community must necessarily be affected. But how would the change take place in practice? Obviously those sections receiving their share in fixed terms of the unit would benefit by getting a larger share of the annual product, if the unit, while keeping the same name (the £), really represented a higher value, say 25s. Those sections which did not receive their share in fixed terms of the unit, but got, as it were, what is over, must necessarily have less wealth to divide up among themselves. This is where Mr. Somerville's "fixity" idea should really have its application. But note—it is not so much the "fixity" of the income that is the evil, as the variation of the unit in which that income is measured and paid. I think there is really something more in this distinction than mere word-spinning, though in practice, in some cases at least, it might come to the same thing, whichever way we express it.

To come down to concrete examples. Everybody admits that in 1925 the £ by the return to the Gold Standard became more valuable than it was in 1918-1923; it rose in value (as measured in gold, foreign currencies, or real wealth) from perhaps 16s. to 20s.

Now three great sections of the community, receiving between them a huge share of the annual wealth produced, had the right to receive certain definite numbers of the unit of measurement and value: the wage-earners, the salaried class and the holders of securities bearing a fixed rate of interest. The sudden change in the unit of measurement meant that a much larger share of the total annual product went to the wage-earners, salaried-class and security-holders (*rentiers*, if you like). Consequently a much smaller share was left to be divided up between the other sections: the agriculturalists, the ordinary share-holders of companies, and to some extent the big wholesale importers of foreign goods.

It is roughly accurate to say that wages, salaries, and fixed interest are paid first in the economic cycle, and that then the other sections get what is over or only get paid their share by the wage-earners or others buying their goods. The wage-earning class and the other receivers of fixed income found themselves suddenly in 1925 with a larger effective purchasing power at their disposal, especially if they dealt with foreign countries whose currencies had depreciated. But the effective demand of these sections was not only bigger, it became specifically a new demand, a demand for a different type of goods and in a new direction. The wage-earners, for example, would not spend their surplus in the same way as the people from whom that surplus had been taken would have spent it. Consequently the whole system built up on the expectation of a certain effective demand coming from a certain definite section of society for certain types of goods began to break down. The £ was more valuable abroad; hence foreign goods, food, etc., were imported—especially of the cheaper and poorer quality. Hence farmers were hit, and had to offer their goods at a lower price, which is precisely the way in which their share of the annual product of the country was reduced. The businesses built up on expectation of what we may call

"the farmers' effective demand" (a certain type of clothes, boots, schooling, entertainment, machinery, fertilisers, etc.) were badly hit, simply because the effective demand was no longer present in the same strength. Hence unemployment in these businesses and low dividends.

On the other hand, the middle-class salaried section or the small *rentiers* found they had a surplus, and so a new demand, specified by their social habits, arose—say, a demand for low-priced motor-cars and, as a result, for more petrol, or for some particular type of clothing, entertainment, etc. The point is that a sudden changing over of effective purchasing power from the possession of one class or section of society to another inevitably means (i.) a new type of demand, which often can only be met by importations from abroad, and (ii.) a depression of the industries which used to supply the former demand of those who have now less purchasing power, and who for that very reason often have to change their *type* of demand too. And this must go on progressively: less demand means lower dividends, and lower dividends mean less demand from that very section of society whose demand went to keep up dividends. And the same applies to the farming community. The whole economic structure, which on account of the huge quantity of fixed capital, vested interests, organisation, etc., is comparatively rigid, has to re-adapt itself to a completely new form of demand and supply; and it can only do that with much creaking and jolting.

The above rather crude and unscientific outline only deals with one of the internal causes influencing the home market of a country. No account is taken of other internal causes nor of the very great influence external causes—say, payments of reparations, tariff walls, stock-exchange speculation, the Russian Five Year Plan—have on the situation. But I believe that the root of the trouble in any country, even in a big exporting country like England, will be found in the upsetting of the home

market by a shifting of effective demand from one section of society to another. It would be interesting to make a study of the economic history of the last ten years from this point of view.

What results from all this ? One thing at least seems clear : a Government ought to maintain intelligent control over its unit of value and measurement—especially with regard to the currencies of other countries. Another lesson is that social progress and reform can be, and ought to be, sought for in the gradual shifting of effective demand from one section of the community to another : a truism, indeed, threadbare and out of elbows, but one whose significance has not been very widely appreciated. But this shifting of demand ought to take place under intelligent human control on a well-considered, long-sighted plan. The folly of trusting to the automatic effect of Free Trade or Protective Tariffs,[1] of a " tied " or " untied" currency, is as common and injurious to-day as ever. The whole economic system rests ultimately on human factors and will not take care of itself, any more than any other human organisation from a trade union to an army. There must be constant, intelligent control, based on a real and accurate knowledge of economic facts and laws. Unfortunately, as the plain man is at last realising, not even the very best economists with the highest reputations are able to speak with an authoritative voice on many, many matters concerned with " economic laws."

E. J. Coyne

[1] " Free Trade " and " Protection " are both based ultimately on the same fallacy : that the *automatic* working out of so-called " economic laws " must necessarily contribute to the well-being of the whole community. To put a 10 per cent. tariff on wheat displays just the same faith in the benevolent nature of economic laws as the putting of no tariff does. Economic laws are just as benevolent as an octopus : they let go their grip with one tentacle, only to get you with two others.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XXI

NO MAN CAN SERVE TWO MASTERS

1. Deacair foghnamh do choil dá chéadna
foghnamh iliomdha foin fir nach foidheagla
fácain daghra gá beart ar bheamla
teacht idir dá chéadna ir damhna doimheanma.

2. Ní héidir foghnamh dá thriath do chiorrughadh
i n-iomdhughadh fiach ag congnamh na gcomdhola
ag foin orrtha im dheoidh dá dheimheaghadh
folladha feinleabhar an eoil ghloin do ghabhoghadh.

3. Gach neach dhíobh ag iarraidh oirdeamhna
dá mhanaibh toileamhla do dhíon a dheaghanma
gan oilbéim éigin d'uile na buidh infeadhma
coimhéir dá chéadna ní héidir do lucht leanamhna.

4. Ir glar éigne do chur ar chreachfluaghaibh
nó ir dual tre ghealchuanaibh do chor éigne i n-aiclionaibh
fada ó dubhradh do réir gach praiccléirigh
gur céim aincéillidh foghnamh do dá flaithrioghaibh.

5. Fior an dá rioghra do réir na feinleabhar
neimhdheaghar díomra gan i gcéill do chuimheaghadh
ir díobh raorflat na ré dteaghloighead
aonmhac dealbhroigheal Dé 'r an duibdheamhan.

6. Rí dib ó nim ainglibh ollúlaidhibh
gan rígh 'n-a comhoghain rin d'airdibh ionmholaidh
ir fear arlaigh uile ir éigin ir ainoligidh
do gharraidh ainbfinigh an phuirt éidigh iorbhadhaigh.

7. Rí na ríoġ nDoġraċ ón dTeaṁaindruiġ
ir coḋnaċ ġealaḋḃaḋ na n-óġ n-iodanġlan
cnú óir i mogal ċaid ċolanġlan
comḟoġnaṁ ċáiġ ḋóib ir obar ionḟoġlaḋ.

8. Mairg aḋrar an té ra naḋḋa an t-íodalḃruiġ
fíorḋraḋ Dé d'alġar ar gcaḋra a ċiainimneaḋ
fear bréagta ċáiġ 'r an raor réaġanġlan
ní héanḟoġnaṁ ar déanta ḋáib a-raon dar riairinn-
feaṁ.

9. Foġnaṁ do fíoġṁac ṁíolla na maiġdine
ar n-airdḃile díona an fíorḟlaṫ oirdniġe
ná tréigeam ceann raor ar realgaine
léigeam don ċealgaire do ṁeall gaċ aon dár
n-oirdḟine.

10. Ir eaḋ ar tol dá ḃaoṫġnúir éidiġ ionġualaiġ
ar gcur d'iomluaġail éigin ra gaċ aonċúir ainṁianaiġ
do ċuilleaḋ ḟian a ḟuirt imḟníoṁaiġ.
'r a riar d'ilġníoṁaiḃ uile ir d'ainriaġail.

11. Ní haṁlaiḋ rin don airdríġ fordorḋa
dá ṫiġ ḋoġurma gan ḟairḃríġ gan anuṁla
ó riaġail ċáiḋ ó ġníoṁaiḃ gliainiodna
ar mo ríoġaiḃ tailiomla do b'áil iarraiḋ ar n-araḋna.

12. Déanam uile do dearḃḋorg a díoġalta
do ríoḋalta Muire do deaġḟordo na daonnaċta
dar mbreiṫ ar réad bríorġlan do dáġtaiġ na diaḋaċta
gníoṁraḋ riaġalta gan ċaṫċain na réad raoġalta.

13. Rí do naḋraḋ ó gaċ ḋruing do na dúilib doṁanta
fa ċuing broġanta d'aḋrad an Dúilim ní doḋulta
rí ar gloine cnú 'r ar truime taḃarta
mo ḃuinne raḃarta mo ċnú croiḋe mo ċomalta.

14. Rí na ríoġ gcomlán an fáiḋ foirmċiallaiḋ
gan ḃrón gan troimċiaṁair lomlán do ḃáiḋ 'r do
ḃinnċeolaiḃ
mairg naċ daingniġ a ḋóiġ ar a deaġċaomaiḃ
mairg do neaṁċaoḃaiġ an nglóir n-aingliġ n-il-
ċeólaiġ.

15. Liaig fir do cáċ é ar an aindligeaḋ
bláṫ flaiṁbileaḋ fé ar nar fár urḋuḃaḋ
gá beag ḋúinn mar faċain dá aṁolaḋ
gaċ ḋúil dalldoḋar ar n-aċair ag umluġaḋ

16. Do luċt moltа an ċoḋnaiġ ar úire airḋeana
na ḋúile ainmeara go bfoġlaiḃ fonnglana
foġair longfláṁ ir froċa fribġeala
goṫa an mínfheaḃa toṁán na tonnmara.

17. Taiṁ na néal foġar na n-uile ainmiḋe
foġar aingliḋe na n-éan foġar ḋuille gaċ ḋionnmuiġe
ag foin molaḋ na ndúileaḋ dá ndagfuire
búireaḋ an daiṁ ḋaiṁġoire foġar na fiḋḃuiḋe.

18. Gaċ ḋúil dar dealḃaḋ riaṁ ran fíoġḋoṁan
gníoṁmolaḋ a ḋeaġmaḋ ir ciall dá gceolfoġar
fí na cruinne an naġlan fúiniḋan
gan aḋrad an Dúiliuṁan don duine ir deonoġaḋ.

19. Gur aḋrar féin d'eiġir aoḃḋa Fionnmuire
d'iongnuire m'anman ar péin dom ċaoṁna ar teiniḋ
ṫairimniṁe
dom ḋíon ar iollrad a oirḃire
do ċoillḃile na ngníoṁ n-iongnaḋ n-aingliḋe.

20. Gur ṫúire mé ó ṁeanmain dúṫracṫaiġ
lúṫroċtain dúine Dé an teaglaiġ ṫriaṫlaċtmair
ór é luaġ ar ḃuaine ar ar mbláṫmoltaiḃ
táirṫaċtain Dé gruaḋ nuaiḋe mar niaṁċaircair.

21. Feaḋar arḃal i n-aġaiḋ gaċ ainḃrine
fargaḋ an flaiṁbile ir caḃair dár gcoṁḋaine
m'éarlaṁ raor dár rlóiġeaḋ neaṁḋaiḋe
mo gealṁuine craoḃ gcnóiġeal gcuḃraiḋe.

Deacair.

Translation

1. 'Tis not easy to serve the will of two masters, a divided service not easy to come safe from; a cause of trouble and dejection is to stand between two masters; could aught be more ruinous?

2. A man cannot exhaustively carry out (?) the service of two lords, supporting, as he does, two authorities (?) in the piling up (on himself) of obligations (?); behold I give authorities in proof of this, the old roll-books spreading clear wisdom.

3. As each of the lords demands subservience to his heart's desires, wishing to preserve his honour, and so cannot be served without some injurious insult (to the other), followers cannot serve them both.

4. 'Tis like a violent keeping back (from each other) of two contending hosts, or 'tis like an attempt to check tides returning through foaming channels; according to every wise cleric it was said of yore that to serve two lords is folly.

5. The description of these two lords, as it is given in the old books, I must recall to memory; one of them is the noble Prince of the Six Households, God's bright comely only Son; and the other is the black demon.

6. One of them is the King from angel-thronged glorious Heaven, without peer among kings for splendid traits; the other, author of temptations and evil and violence and lawlessness, a champion of the rebels from the foul baneful castle.

7. The lord of the gloomy host from the demons' stronghold, and the Lord of the shining castle with its pure noble virgins, a golden fruit in blessed shapely cluster—for anyone to serve both of these is a disastrous task.

8. Woe to the man who cleaves to him whose abode is the temple of idols: that we should cleave to God in our striving for salvation is the constant terror of men's deceiver; very different is the service we should give to him and to the noble majestic Creator—if we wish to be guided aright.

9. Let us serve the gentle Lord, Son of the Virgin, our lofty tree of shelter, true anointed Prince; let us never keep away from the noble Captain who seeks to capture us; let us forswear the deceiver who betrayed all men of our race.

10. He of the raving foul coal-black face desires to drive us by violence to all deeds of passion, and thus merit the pains of his fearful dungeon; and to have us serve him with all kinds of sin and unrighteousness.

11. Not so is it with the noble High-King; He would fain ask my wilful masters (my passions) for my bridle (to lead me) in submissiveness and humility, by holy rule and pure life to His House of Summons.

12. That we may avert completely His vengeance, let us for the sake of Mary's kingly Son, humanity's strong support, lead our life according to law and in contempt of worldly wealth, betaking ourselves along the true path to the Palace of Divinity.

13. 'Tis easy to bow 'neath a salutary yoke and adore the Creator, the Lord adored of all manner of earthly creatures. Lord of noblest stock and most generous hand, my spring-tide, my heart's darling, my foster-brother.

14. Lord of the perfect hosts, prophet come in visible form, full of love and sweet harmony, free from woe or heavy gloom—woe to the man who has not established his trust in His good services, or has not set his hope on the angelic harmonious glory of Heaven.

15. He is a gracious Physician, curing all men of wickedness, a blossom of fair trees, a moon never darkened—is it not reason enough for us to praise the Father that every element, blind and deaf, obeys Him?

16. Among those who praise the ever-freshly glorious Lord are the active elements with their bright suppliant voices, the sounds of ship-oars (?) and the fair flowing waters, the voices of the stream, the roar of the wave-tossed sea.

17. The noise of the (thunder-) clouds, the sounds of all living things, the angel-like strains of the birds, the rustling of the foliage of every upland, the lowing of the deer-herd, the whispering of the wood—these are the praises given by the elements to their good Lord.

18. As regards the elements created in the great world, they mean by their melody to show forth the praises of the excellences of God, Lord of the world, most pure and guileless of heart; yet man wills not to cleave to the Creator.

19. May I be true to the comely Son of fair Mary; to Him who saves my soul from pain and guards me from fierce roaring fire; to this Hazel-tree whose fruits are wondrous angelic deeds—that so I may defend myself against the multitude of His reproaches.

20. May I with earnest heart desire to reach speedily the castle of God whose household is thronged with nobles; for the most lasting reward of my flowery eulogy is that I may come to Christ whose fresh cheeks are as bright purple.

21. A help to save me against all treachery is a firm hold on the famous tree, Peter, my noble captain of our Heavenly hosts, my bright fragrant-branching thicket laden with gleaming fruit.

Notes

MSS.: O'Conor Don's Book, p. 119 (O); A v 2 p. 52 (A); 23 F 16 p. 149 (F); 23 G 25 p. 243 (G); 24 P 4 p. 246 (P); P ascribes to O hEoghusa, A to Mathghamhain O hUiginn, the other MSS. give no author's name.

2*a* ċiomṁuġaḋ metaphor not clear. *b* sic O, c. na a gc. F, no a gc. A, naċ cc. P. Trans. uncertain. *d*. omṁa: ṁulla F. 4*b* Or "a loop across channels to check . . .; é. ar aiċl. F. *c. Lege* raich—? *d* gur *om* O; do díb ṗl. A. 5*c* ór d. F. *d* ṗa du. FAO. 6*a* na. no. AP. *c* uilc éigin OA. *d* urḃaḋaiġ OAG. 7*b* gealaḋḃal A. 8*a* cíoḃal- OPA. *b* daġlar OPA. *c* ṗa ṗaor OAPFG. *d* dá ṁ. G. 10 diomluaiguin O. 11*d* Sic O, ar mbríoġaiḃ APFG. 12*c* a réad O. 13*a* g. dul do O. *b* ṗan ċuing O. 14*c* d. dá ḋóiġ O. *d* before *c* F; neaṁċaoḃ F. 15*b* urḋuġaḋ O. 16*d* na mín. O, an binn. A. 17*b* ainglidhe *om*. O. 18*a* ḋealḃ F. *b* dá cceol. F. 19*a* aḋṁair OP. *d* do *om* O; mongłan F. 20*c* b. ar mbł. O. 21 *om* FG. *b* ccoṁnġaine O. *c* neaṁḋaine O. *d* deallḃṁuine ccṁ. O.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

THE FOUNDATIONS OF BIBLE HISTORY. Joshua and Judges. By John Garstang, M.A., D.Litt. With Plates and Maps. London : Constable. 1931. 20s.

THE task Professor Garstang sets himself in this book is to prove the historical reality of the narrative of Joshua and Judges, first from its parallelism with Egyptian history, and secondly from the contemporary evidence of archaeology. The result of his investigations is an astounding confirmation of the Biblical narrative, and the book will take a very high place among modern contributions to Old Testament History.

Joshua and Judges are primarily the record of a religious movement. Historically, they are the record of the history of Israel from the year 1407, when the Israelites invaded Canaan under Joshua, through the three hundred years during which they were settling in Canaan, down to the year 1060, when the narrative leaves them under the domination of the Philistines after the death of the quasi-deliverer Samson. It is to the reality of these recorded events that Professor Garstang's discoveries give such startling confirmation.

We begin with the parallels from Egyptian history. Under Thutmose III the Pharaohs set themselves to the conquest of Syria and the thorough spoliation of Canaan. Thutmose himself plundered one hundred and nineteen towns in Canaan, established important garrisons, and incorporated the whole land into the Egyptian Empire. This policy of spoliation and the destruction of the Canaanite power was continued by his successor, Amenhotep II, but was neglected by Amenhotep III, who left this portion of his Empire very much to itself under the care of his vassals. As a result of the disorder that followed, the country was a ready prey to any invader, as was proved when Joshua appeared before the walls of Jericho in 1407. During the next generation Israel was able to settle in the land by dint of hard fighting and also by peaceful penetration ; for the Egyptian conquests had left the land defenceless in much the same way as the Romans were later to leave Britain defenceless against the Picts and Scots. But Syria was still part of the Egyptian Empire,

and Egyptian garrisons were still maintained for the protection of the imperial highways.

In 1370 the book of Judges records the first oppression of the Israelites and their deliverance by Othniel. This deliverance synchronises with a new Egyptian policy, begun in 1360 by Sakere, and continued by Tutenkhamon and Harmhab. These Pharaohs strove to restore peace in Canaan ; and from this date to the end of Egyptian rule in Syria (1110), the fluctuations in the efficiency of her rule in the province are faithfully reflected in the Biblical narrative of periods of oppression and deliverance. When Bedouins or Hittites or Philistines are able to defy the Egyptian power, the Biblical narrative records a period of oppression. Deliverance comes when Egypt is able to restore her control and quell the enemies of peaceful government.

Read in this fashion, with the broad outlines of Egyptian history as the natural setting for the incidents recorded in the Bible, Joshua and Judges gain a new meaning. The sequence of events becomes at once more intelligible, and the historicity of the two books is firmly established. The parallelism between the records of Egypt and the records of Israel is complete and consistent. We only read Joshua and Judges in their true focus when we remember that, for the three hundred years of Israel's settlement, Canaan was an integral part of Egypt's Empire in Syria. Yet there is not a single direct reference in either of the two books to the fact that the Pharaohs were the supreme temporal rulers of the land. Professor Garstang has pointed out this striking fact and has suggested the explanation. To the Jewish mind it was intolerable that any but the God of Israel should influence their destiny ; and Joshua and Judges are both primarily records of a religious, not a secular, movement.

An interesting passage occurs in Joshua xxiv. All the tribes are assembled at Shechem with Joshua, and the events of the Exodus down to the capture of Jericho are epitomised as the work of Jehovah. But from the capture of this city Israel's progress is attributed to a divinely-sent agency, not named, but symbolised as the Hornet. " And I sent the Hornet before you, and he drove them out." (Joshua xxiv.12, Hebrew text). The sovereignty of Pharaoh over Egypt is expressed by a hieroglyphic formula : *ny-swt-byt* : " He who belongs to the Reed and the Hornet." The third member of this formula is the Hornet. We can but say that Jehovah spoke true. Egypt's policy towards Canaan prepared the way for Joshua's entrance, and the temporary breakdown of Egyptian control made Israel's settlement possible.

Subsequent Pharaohs removed, one by one, the obstacles from her path.

Professor Garstang's proof from the archaeological standpoint is briefer, but even more convincing. From the internal evidence of the Bible, we get the year 1407 as the year of Joshua's entrance into Canaan. He destroyed first Jericho, than Ai, and shortly afterwards Hazor. Some time after this, according to Judges, the Josephites destroyed Bethel. Professor Garstang has excavated at Jericho, Ai and Hazor; and the American School of Oriental Research has excavated at Bethel. In all four cases the results have been the same. Overwhelming evidence has been found to show that these towns were destroyed in the middle of the Late Bronze Age, roughly at the end of the fifteenth century.

Moreover, the wealth of topographical detail given in the descriptions of campaigns and of territories in both Joshua and Judges is shown by the author to be absolutely accurate. We have here a strong argument against those critics who place the authorship of these two books in the eighth or ninth centuries—three to five hundred years later than the events which they describe. It is true that the two books may have received their final form at that date; but the accuracy of the topographical detail—*e.g.*, in the capture of Ai—would go to prove that they were written much earlier, even contemporaneously with the events recorded. Nor is this conclusion in any way surprising. Both the Egyptians and the Hittites, whose influence had already permeated Israel, had established a system of state-archives at this period. We may then accept Professor Garstang's claim: that he has proved the historical trustworthiness of the documents on which is based the world's oldest connected narrative of human endeavour.

Two other points deserve special praise. The photographs which illustrate this book are probably the best set of photographs yet published in any work concerned with the history of Palestine. Two views of the same site are frequently printed side by side, thus giving a more complete and satisfying notion of the locality described in the text. And at the end of the volume there are long appendices on the identification of historical sites. Some of the author's conclusions are more plausible than those given in the older commentaries. For example, he places Joshua's rout of the Northern League near Bint Um el-Jebeil, in Upper Galilee, not near Lake Huleh, as most commentators have done hitherto, nor near Megiddo, as stated by Eusebius.

A. J. B.

Biography

JOHN HEALY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM. By the Rev. P. J. Joyce, B.D., B.C.L. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1931. Pp. 346. 12s. 6d. net.

ARCHBISHOP HEALY, from 1883 to 1913, was always a notable, even an influentially active figure, in the Irish Church. His biographer, in this first essay, has achieved very substantial success. Unlike numerous recent writers of "lives," ecclesiastical and religious, in English, Father Joyce has the gifts of balance, proportion, order, and restraint. These essential qualities gain as his work makes progress. Their presence has by no means deprived his chapters of that very desirable element, the human touch. At the outset it can be traced even in a highly ornate and rhetorical elaboration of phrase, which emerges at times throughout, especially in allusions to the episcopal dignity and functions. These are, following the lead of Canon Ulick Burke's *Life of Archbishop MacHale*, described in regal, not to say imperial terminology. But the writer supplies an excellent corrective. He cites numerous passages from Dr. Healy's sermons, papers, and addresses. They are always eloquent ; but it is an eloquence that is always moderated, lucid, even simple. Simplest of all is the language always employed in his greatest sermons, preached in many Irish dioceses on special occasions and on very great days in England and Scotland. The Archbishop's carefully written texts afford excellent models for the simple style in preaching. A suitable collection of them would be of great practical value.

Next to his gifted industry as an historical writer and as a lecturer and preacher, and far more durable than his policy on Irish Land in the decade of struggle, comes Dr. Healy's service to Higher Education in Ireland. He had by no means the opportunities given to his great contemporary, Archbishop Walsh. Yet the solid realism of the Western prelate prevailed, both as to means and as to the form of the definitive settlement. He was clear that there must be a concentration of Catholic resources in St. Stephen's Green and Cecilia Street, until the battle for educational rights was won. He was equally clear that the concentration had to be not only one regarding the meagre money provision so very indirectly available, but also as to teaching power and as to student numbers. The scattering of these modest ways and means, material and mental, might go some little way, in appearance only, to providing equal opportunity. But in fact this dispersal of energies would mean all round ineffectiveness, as well

as new inequalities of every kind. The treatment of this whole topic, both formally and incidentally, is one of the most successful sections in the new biography. It was in his consistent and commendable leadership on this issue of Higher Education for Irish Catholics that Archbishop Healy rendered his best service to Ireland. It is a tribute to the convincing character of his practical policy that it had the support of Cardinal Logue, of Archbishop Croke, and of the almost total number of the Irish Bishops.

The Archbishop was always a thorough man of the West. The same characteristic stamp is on this book of his life and writings. It is a true outcrop of the life of the Church in Connacht ; and this note only serves to deepen the impression made by its authentic humanity no less than by its profound Catholicity. Here we see Catholic Ireland, its life and its problems, surveyed from Croagh Patrick. T. C.

ST. PATRICK, A.D. 180. By Rev. John Roche Ardill, LL.D. London : John Murray. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis & Co. 1931. Pp. vii+221. 5s. net.

In the 200 odd pages of which this book is composed there are seven which will repay the attention of the reader. These are pages 46-52, where the author is dealing with the evidence for pre-Patrician Christianity in Ireland. His conclusion—that our island, when St. Patrick entered it, was completely heathen—merits all but absolute assent. Some scattered Christians or some diminutive communities, weak and isolated, may well be overlooked, seeing that they would be too insignificant to attract notice in an overwhelmingly pagan country.

There is nothing else in the book which the reviewer can recommend. Its main thesis, insinuated in the title, that St. Patrick came to Ireland in the last third of the second century, is obviously open to the most serious objections. In the Grand Army of writers on St. Patrick all, except Canon Ardill, are out of step ! Let us glance at the arguments by which he seeks to justify so individualistic a point of view.

The strongest weapon in his armoury is undoubtedly the Creed found in St. Patrick's " Confession." This Creed, according to Canon Ardill, shows no trace of Nicene influence, and must have been penned in the days of the second century Fathers, to whose confessions of faith it bears a striking resemblance. St. Patrick, therefore, lived in the second century. The answer to this must needs be brief. Canon Ardill has a very just admiration for the learning of Dr. Newport White, the editor of St. Patrick's

writings. Had the Canon studied the notes to the English version of the Saint's works (S.P.C.K. edition, p. 112), he would find a reference by Dr. White to the Creed in question. It is "borrowed unmistakably from the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Victorinus of Pettau, in Upper Pannonia," who was martyred about A.D. 300. "Patrick's dependence on this now little known author was demonstrated in 1894 by Kattenbusch in *Das Apostolische Symbol*, II., p. 212 f." It follows, then, that the writer of the "Confession" could not have lived before the fourth century. Canon Ardill's belief that the clergy of the West had the *fides Nicaena* at their finger-tips soon after A.D. 325 can be shown to be mistaken. St. Hilary of Poitiers, for instance, tells us himself that he was ignorant of it when appointed bishop, and learned it for the first time just as he was about to set forth for exile in A.D. 356 (Migne, PL. X, col. 545). How St. Patrick became acquainted with the work of Victorinus is a question worthy of special study. The exegetical writings of the latter were vitiated by Chiliastic views, and nowhere did these appear more abundantly than in the closing sections of his Commentary on the Apocalypse. To remove the offence caused by such passages the whole Commentary was subjected to strict revision by St. Jerome. Copies of the expurgated edition, with other volumes from that distinguished Father's pen, would naturally be found at Lérins and elsewhere in Gaul when St. Patrick was dwelling in that country. Perhaps he committed the Creed to memory. Perhaps a book containing it lay ready to hand when he was writing his "Confession." On such possibilities it is idle to speculate. The Creed, as Dr. Gwynn pointed out in his preface to the Book of Armagh, is "a simple affirmation of a series of articles of faith," something like the Apostles' Creed and not much fuller, and was thus suited to the purposes of an apostle in a heathen land, where there were no heresies to combat. Be the explanation what it may, the historical setting of this Creed definitely disproves Canon Ardill's contention that the writer of the "Confession" lived in the second century.

One or two other difficulties may be indicated. St. Patrick informs us that he was unable to count "the sons and daughters of Irish princes who were monks and virgins of Christ." Canon Ardill argues that in this phrase there is no reference to anything in the nature of a conventual system. "The whole is in keeping with second and early third century history" (p. 187). It is quite true that there were Christian ascetics of both sexes in the second century, but the term used by St. Patrick to describe

these sons of Irish princes is *monachi*. Now the first Christian writer known to have called ascetics by that name (*μοναχοί*) is Eusebius of Caesarea, the friend of Constantine the Great. Its use in Christian literature one hundred and forty years earlier, and then by a Latin, not by a Greek, author, would be a literary phenomenon of unusual interest. That it was so used is a theory for which there is not a shadow of probability.

Equally unsatisfactory is the Canon's treatment of St. Patrick's reference to the heathen *Franks*. Worse still is his failure to mention the Hymn of Secundinus, which scholars generally regard as a valuable fifth century document. If spurious, the fact should be demonstrated; if genuine, it is fatal to the Canon's theory. It is alleged that our records know nothing of St. Patrick during the two centuries A.D. 432-630. The Canon does not seem to realize that his own reading of history would increase this difficulty two-fold. Many events of the fourth and early fifth century are well known to us. Such, for instance, are the expulsion of the Déisi, the foundation of the kingdom of Airgialla, the settlement of Irish colonies in Britain, the growth of Eóghanacht power in Munster, the victorious careers of Niall of the Nine Hostages, his brothers and sons, in the West, the Midlands and the North. How are we to explain the absolute silence about Christianity during the same period, if we suppose, with Canon Ardill, that it was then well established in Ireland? That there is a corresponding lack of evidence for the centuries A.D. 432-630 is a gratuitous assumption. The *acta* of St. Patrick were collected in the seventh century from traditions that were still fresh in the people's memory and which follow a steady and inflexible course back to 432 and no further.

Of minor misstatements there is no room to speak. They occur so frequently that their correction would require a volume larger than the original work. J. R.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Norman H. Baynes. The Raleigh Lecture on History, British Academy, 1929. London: Milford. 1931. 6s. net.

JUSTINIAN. By G. P. Baker. London. Nash and Grayson. 1931. 18s. net.

Mr. Norman Baynes may well be regarded as the scholar upon whom has fallen the mantle of the late Professor Bury. His many special studies on the history of the later Roman Empire and his fascinating little volume on the Byzantine Empire must have

aroused the hope among his readers that he will yet produce something on a larger scale. The present reviewer, for one, has long been expecting him to write at length on the large number of difficult problems presented by the reign of the Emperor Constantine. His Raleigh Lecture gives us a precious foretaste of what he is so eminently fitted to accomplish. Itself a brief summary of thirty pages, it is accompanied by a most thorough and critical bibliography running to over seventy more ; and it is safe to say that it will be an indispensable guide to all students of the period.

Mr. Baynes confines himself to one aspect of his subject, and that the most interesting—the problem of Constantine's motives and character as religious reformer in the Roman State. He shows how all the attempts of " rationalising " historians, like Burckhardt, Seeck and Schwartz, to explain away the Emperor as the natural outcome of the previous history of Rome, or as a mere unreligious opportunist, have failed for all their ability. It is a curious fact that no one has yet made the fullest use of Constantine's own letters and edicts for the explanation of his motives. The difficulty here is one of criticism ; many of these documents have been declared to be forgeries. Mr. Baynes proceeds on the basis of their acceptance, save for one, as genuine. In his notes he gives his reasons for rejecting the arguments against them. From the study of these documents Constantine is shown to have been a sincere believer, convinced that he was God's chosen instrument for the ending of persecution, and anxious before all things for Christian unity. In pursuit of this policy he was prepared to lecture and threaten both Arius and Athanasius ; and some of his utterances to these combatants have an almost Cromwellian note. Finally he genuinely regarded himself, in his imperial capacity, as " Bishop of those without the Church," and strove also for their salvation. It will be seen what an amount of living interest is given to Constantine by Mr. Baynes's treatment.

Mr. G. P. Baker has already had much success with a series of vividly-written monographs on great personalities of antiquity, such as Hannibal, Tiberius, and Constantine. The present work should achieve a similar success. Though we know distressingly little of Justinian's real personality, his reign is brightly lit for us by the histories of Procopius. It lends itself more particularly to Mr. Baker's type of treatment by reason of the fortunate fact that the " Secret History " of the same enigmatic author supplies any amount of spicy seasoning for an otherwise sober narrative. The reign has been thoroughly covered in the second volume of Professor Bury's monumental *Later Roman Empire*. Mr. Baker may

be said to translate Bury's solid and cumbrous, if very interesting and informative, volume into sprightly Americanese. An amusing instance of this may be found by comparing Bury's version of Theodora's famous speech during the Nika riots with Mr. Baker's.

In Bury's translation the Empress begins : " The present occasion is, I think, too grave to take regard for the convention that it is not meet for a woman to speak among men." Mr. Baker is more graphic : " In a crisis like the present," says *his* Theodora, " we have no time to argue whether a woman's place is the home, and whether she ought to be meek and modest in the presence of the lords of creation." This is the style, generally speaking, of his whole book. It is not by any means an ineffectual style, provided his reader be not over-pedantic. In fairness it should be said that he carefully acknowledges his full debt to Bury's work, that he has handled the sources for himself, and that his judgment is both masculine and independent. In one or two places where he departs from Bury, as in the attribution of the famous dialogue called " Akta dia Kallopodion " to the period of the Nika riots, he sacrifices verisimilitude for effect, and he is perhaps over-liberal in his use of the *Secret History*. His book is in any case very interesting, especially in its lively treatment of its real hero, the great conqueror Belisarius. M. T.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLES AGES. By the Right Rev. Monsignor Horace K. Mann, D.D. Vol. XVII. London : Kegan Paul. 1931. 15s. net.

Mgr. Mann's latest volume deals with the pontificates of Nicholas IV and St. Celestine V. The former had the distinction of being the first Franciscan to occupy the Chair of Peter. He was a man of humble origin and of modest ways, pious and good-natured, but narrow in outlook and timid in action, lacking in desire and capacity to become a real leader of men. Through stormy political seas he steered an uncertain course, always severely shaken but never quite overwhelmed by the unruly elements. He laboured zealously to organize a new Crusade, and sent missionaries as far afield as Persia, China and Ethiopia. References to Ireland during his reign are few. We find him consecrating with his own hands a newly-appointed Archbishop of Cashel and granting a dispensation for marriage with a third cousin to a Norman settler in Meath. A similar dispensation had been granted by him to the son of Edward I of England for his marriage with the Maid of Norway ; but its purpose was frustrated by the premature death of that princess.

The death of Nicholas IV was followed by a *sedis vacantia* of two years, three months and two days, a scandal for which the rivalries of the Colonna and Orsini clans were mainly responsible. Each family had two representatives in the electoral College of Cardinals, whose number was then but twelve. In the deliberations of that august body the spirit of discord reigned supreme. Christendom implored their Eminences to give the world a new Pontiff, but its appeal remained unheard. When Roman patience gave way, as it soon did, the city became the victim of continuous disorders, in which robbery, sacrilege and murder had a prominent place. The day was finally reached when, in sheer desperation, the Cardinals turned their gaze towards a hermit cell in the mountain fastnesses of the Abruzzi and elected its occupant Peter de Morrone, to be successor of Nicholas IV in the Apostolic See.

A dramatic scene was witnessed when the official messengers, bearing the formal election decree, struggled up the precipice to the pinnacle, a thousand feet above the level of the adjoining plain, where Peter's hut was perched. Cardinal Colonna and the delegates peered through the iron grating of the little cell, curious to see how the new Pope would look. " Behind the bars stood a man, evidently of great age, seemingly dazed at the sight of the dignified throng before him and by the knowledge of the errand on which they had come. Bearded was he and pale, with cheeks emaciated by long fasts and with the lids of his dark eyes swollen by much weeping. Yet with all this, and his stiff, coarse garments, he was venerable withal ; for his form and features, dress and dwelling, all bespoke the Saint."

In electing thus " a man of no literary culture and of absolutely no knowledge of worldly affairs," but of extraordinary sanctity, the Cardinals had made a daring experiment. The Christian world waited with bated breath to see what its consequences would be. Mgr. Mann is quite frank as to their nature : " There is no need to linger on the Pontificate of Celestine, which was pitiable in itself and deplorable in its results." To the benefice-hunters, who crowded like a flock of carrion crows about the new ruler, he showed unparalleled generosity, for he granted all their requests. When two sought the same favour, he bestowed it impartially on both, leaving perplexed officials to settle between them as best they could. The way was thus prepared for wholesale bribery and corruption. More serious still was the extent to which the simple Pope fell under the influence of Charles II of Naples, a wily politician, who secured that of the first eleven Cardinals created seven should be French and three Neapolitans. This and similar foolish acts brought, as Mgr. Mann demonstrates, ill-

deserved odium on Celestine's successor, Boniface VIII, and "involved the Church in one disaster after another, culminating in the Great Schism of the West." Before the regime was six months old the position had become so intolerable that the Pope could see no means of escape except by resignation. Having consulted the canonists about this step, he was assured that it lay within his powers. The unprecedented act was accomplished with much solemnity on December 13, 1294, and was regarded generally by contemporaries as the best deed in Celestine's pontificate. Peter de Morrone returned to his life of mortification and prayer. Two years later he died the holiest of deaths. Mgr. Mann disagrees with the popular belief that Dante's reference to the weakling "che fece per viltà lo gran rifuto" was meant to apply to Celestine V. We hope, for Dante's sake, that this view is correct; for such a comment on the Saint's magnanimous resignation would be entirely unjustified. J. R.

MARY OF GUISE-LORRAINE. By E. Marianne M'Kerlie. London: Sands. 1931. 10s. 6d.

This book makes one of an interesting series relating to Catholic Scotland published by Messrs. Sands. The volume, handsomely produced and furnished with many excellent illustrations, represents not only a labour of love on the writer's part, but also a painstaking attempt to vindicate the memory of Mary Guise as a Scottish Queen and as a champion of the ancient faith at a critical period in the history of the realm with whose fortunes it was her destiny to be involved.

As the mother of Mary Queen of Scots, Mary of Guise will always be a figure of interest in history, but she has claims of her own to the attention of historians, and it is these claims that the writer of this book endeavours to set forth. The Scotland to which she came in 1538 as the bride of James V was a land of many possibilities. The country was then Catholic, and there was no sign that the religious innovations then making headway elsewhere were likely to find foothold there. When James died in 1542 Scotland was still a Catholic kingdom, and to all appearance destined to remain so, and yet the dominating fact of the age for Scotland is the influence of the great religious revolt.

The present book does not give due prominence to all the causes that would naturally explain what so speedily followed:—viz., the almost complete overthrow of Scots Catholicism, which makes one to-day prone to regard that country as one with a soul naturally averse from Catholicism. A most potent cause

in bringing about this result was the unsatisfactory state of the Church in Scotland at this time. There is no use in ignoring this fact, as the present book does. The fact is there, and is not dependent on hostile testimony, and it was one of the causes that powerfully contributed to the success of Knox.

Madame M'Kerlie is not wholly just to Knox. True, he was no doubt an unpleasant personage, but he was none the less a remarkable man. Because we dislike a man and what he has done does not entitle us to distort him when we come to portray him. Knox knew what he wanted, and he used every effort to attain his end. He knew no scruples in encompassing that end, but it is only fair to give him such credit as is his due.

Another point in which it seems to us that Madame M'Kerlie is somewhat unsatisfactory is her attitude towards the influence of France on the Scotland of that time. Her book is dedicated to M. Poincaré, and this is symbolical of her outlook on the politics of the era of Mary of Guise. French political considerations were far too dominant in the Scotland of that time. Whether or not there was any genuine Scottish patriotism to be found in any class one does not care to say, but certainly the French influences were not such as to stimulate it. The fact that Mary of Guise naturally was on the French side did not tend to strengthen the causes for which she stood as Regent of Scotland. She had a difficult task to perform; she faced her task with courage, and with no little of the diplomatic skill that marked her house. She was a true daughter of the Church, and if her policy failed—well, her reputation does not suffer by reason of failure. Madame M'Kerlie's book makes better known one who deserves to be better known, and by reason of this fact her book has its justification.

W. J. W.

Celtica

IRISH TEXTS. Edited by J. Fraser, P. Grosjean, S.J., and J. G. O'Keeffe. London: Sheed and Ward. 1931. Fasciculus I. 3s. net; Fasciculus II, III, each 5s. net.

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN IRISH SERIES. Vol. I. *Buile Suibne*, edited by J. G. O'Keeffe. 3s. 6d. net. Vol. II. *Tromdámh Guaire*, edited by Maud Joynt. 3s. net. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1931.

WHEN that very meritorious series of inedited Irish texts *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* came to a sudden end in 1913, its disappearance caused much regret. A new series similar in scope has now taken its place, thanks to the sympathetic interest of Messrs. Sheed and Ward and the illimitable industry of Père

Grosjean, who has called to his side as co-editors Professor Fraser and Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe. Three fasciculi are already in the hands of the public, a gratifying proof of zeal on the part of the editorial triumvirate. The first fasciculus contains contributions from well-known scholars—Dr. Best, Professors Pokorny and Vendryès, Miss W. Wulff, Father McKenna, Mr. R. M. Smith—as well as from the editors. Perhaps the most interesting piece in the collection is a poem in various forms of *rannaigecht* supposed to have been composed by Flann mac Lonáin the day after his death, when wider experience had taught him to wish that he had conducted himself differently in this world. Fasciculus II contains a score of poems in praise of the O'Donnells, covering the three centuries A.D. 1250-1550. The third fasciculus presents us with a large quantity of hagiographical material, the heaviest share of the work falling to Père Grosjean, though able support is forthcoming from Professor Fraser and Mr. O'Keeffe. Generous support, we trust, will be accorded to this series, that Messrs. Sheed and Ward may be able to continue its publication without grievous financial loss.

It is an added pleasure to welcome the " Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series," of which two volumes have just been issued by the Stationery Office. The first of these, *Buile Suibne*, already well known as one of the Irish Text Society's volumes, is re-edited by Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe. It is a fine tale attractively told in language of about the twelfth century. The beautiful verse measures, in particular, will appeal to the reader's artistic sense. Volume II, *Tromdámh Guaire*, a humorous exaggeration of the power wielded by the poets in mediaeval Ireland (a power which almost brought about their annihilation at the Convention of Druim Ceatt in A.D. 575), is edited by Miss Maud Joynt. This story, too, makes pleasant reading. Copious notes and excellent vocabularies assist the student in the work of mastering both texts. The editorial committee deserves congratulations on its good beginning and encouragement in its high purpose, " to supply editions of stories from the Ulster, Fenian and mythological cycles, and of what is best in Irish poetry and prose." J. R.

Fiction

DARK MOUNTAIN and other stories. By David Hogan. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1931. 5s. net.

Old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago. There may be a difference of opinion as to the appropriateness of the second adjective, but these tales of David Hogan deal with a period

which is now pretty generally called "the trouble" or the "troubled times" by all parties, no matter what political views they hold. Mr. Hogan has the gift of telling a story crisply, vividly and tersely. He writes, too, with an air of knowledge; he is not guessing at things. As one reads his book the memories of that bygone epoch of stress and storm are stirred once more. Those who reside in cities may not, perhaps, find as much in these pages to recall actual experiences as country-living folk; but tales such as "Whirling Leaves," describing the escape of "Shinners" from Mountjoy Jail, recall episodes of a kind with which town-dwellers were familiar. All the words which some ten years ago were on every one's lips appear between these covers—Lorries, Black-and-Tans, Auxies., I.R.A. and so on; it reads like a full-dress debate in the *Dáil*. Yet the author has deemed it necessary to append a glossary to tell his readers what these terms mean.

Mr. Hogan's patriotism shines through the book. He has no hesitation as to the right or wrong of the quarrel. Apart from this aspect of his book, his skill in sketching a landscape, in conveying an atmosphere, in imparting a thrill is of a high order. The book deserves to be widely read, especially by Irish boys and girls, to whom it will teach a lesson that is not sufficiently often dinned into them—to wit: that courage and patriotism are not exclusively British virtues. W. D.

THE IRISH VOLUNTEER. By Francis Carty. London: Dent. 1932. 7s. 6d. net.

A PLAIN unvarnished tale of the experiences of a country lad as a member of a "flying squad" of the I.R.A. from 1919 to 1921. The narrative is devoted almost solely to an account—a vivid realistic account—of ambushes, attacks on Police Barracks, life "on the run," and incidents in the martial side of what is, more or less inaccurately, styled the *Sinn Féin* movement. In the opening chapters there is some description of the early life of the hero and of the calm withal clamorous Ireland in the years before 1914.

Like many other youth Art Russell (the hero) was an admirer, if too young to count as an adherent, of the "Irish Party" of those days. At the outset of the Great War he is pro-Redmond. It is only the aftermath of Easter Week that swings him round to the Republican cause. We are, indeed, left in doubt whether he is a true Republican. He is "out" for the best that can be got, and is resolved to get it *vi et armis*.

Few books have given us as " snappy " a history of deeds done in those stirring times. The author possesses the power of telling his story graphically. No ornate writing; no effort to impress. He puts clearly before us the types that made up the I.R.A.: the shopman's son, the student from the " National," the raw peasant. A thumbnail sketch of John Redmond attending a recruiting meeting is a life-like piece of work. So is the description of an interview with Miceal Collins. " The Big Fella " fills the eye. One realises what a hero Collins may yet prove in fiction as well in actual life. The reader feels that Mr. Carty has shown us the man in his habit as he lived.

No effort is made to excite animosity against the R.I.C. " The R.I.C. never knew when to surrender," writes Mr. Carty. We seem to recall a like tribute paid to a more historic force. Reference is made elsewhere in the book to the " stupid bravery of the police." The hackneyed lines of Tennyson anent " honour rooted in dishonour " may seem to have application. In fact the author, while he may be held to extenuate, sets down naught in malice.

There are glimpses of humour here and there, but of a bucolic order. It is to be supposed that the statement by Art's mother, that Thomas Davis wrote " *God Save Ireland,*" is writ sarcastic. Verily, a good book needing no bush. But it won a Tailteann Prize for all that. W. D.

History

HISTORY OF THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF IRELAND TO 1817. By T. J. Kiernan, M.A., Ph.D. London: King. 1931. 15s. net.

This is a most valuable book, bringing together as it does a great quantity of information till now scattered in voluminous State Papers, Reports and Parliamentary Journals. It furnishes the student of Financial History with a clear account of the consecutive steps by which the Irish Parliament took over the control of the revenues of the country, and gives a sketch also of its methods of administration in regard to them up to the date (1817), when the Exchequer of Ireland was amalgamated with that of Great Britain.

In the earlier chapters the famous piece of legislation known as " Poyning's Act," its modifications and the effects of these, are dealt with. This is the best and most complete account that has yet appeared of this very interesting matter. It is to be hoped that henceforth there will be an end of the strange blunders

regarding the force and scope of the Act which have misled so many students and disfigured so many text-books.

It was not until the reign of William III (1691) that parliamentary control of Irish public finances really began. Even then it was merely what Dr. Kiernan aptly describes as "a post-mortem inquisition"—a viewing of the accounts of money already spent. It was, however, natural that not long afterwards (1692) an attempt was made by the Commons to more distinctly assert their powers by claiming that all Supply Bills should originate in their House. Into the details of this famous and often-renewed struggle with the Government there is not space to enter.

In 1695 a request made to the Lord Deputy (Capel) by the Commons that "a distinct yearly account of all receipts and payments of his Majesty's revenue" should be furnished to them was complied with, and later in the same year we find the first Committee of Supply reporting on these accounts and complaining of certain irregularities which it has discovered in them. As time went on, the reports of this Committee became more detailed. This was at this period the only way in which financial grievances could be made known, for as yet the custom of parliamentary questions did not exist.

So far the parliament had limited its financial activities for the most part to a critical investigation of the manner in which the money voted had been applied; only gradually did it begin to advance further and to assign a specified portion of the future revenue to certain purposes. The Surplus Dispute of 1753 hastened this development; for the parliament, indignant that this surplus had been taken from its control by the Crown, resolved that in future there should be little or nothing left to seize, and began to ear-mark the supplies in advance.

During the earlier years of the so-called "Legislative Independence," established in 1782, there was little improvement in the Irish financial system. Abuses of all kinds, sinecure offices, undeserved pensions, bribery and corruption flourished as before. Over one hundred pensioners and placemen sat in the Commons. Till 1793 the control exercised by parliament over the public revenue was no greater than before. In the above-mentioned year, however, the Consolidated Fund Act reduced the pension expenses, established a Civil List, and placed all public funds under the direction of the House of Commons. This was a great step in advance and gave much hope for the future. Unfortunately, only seven years after the Legislative Union came.

By this change, our author holds, "Irish financial administra

tion was not improved." True, the Irish parliament had not always acted in a praiseworthy manner, but it "understood what it was doing, even when it was doing wrong. The United Kingdom parliament was capable of doing wrong to Ireland in the belief that it was being good and generous." As all experience shows, the blunders of well-intentioned ignorance are usually persisted in with far greater obstinacy than are acts due to deliberate evil intentions; and so it proved in this case. Had the Irish parliament, instead of being extinguished in 1800, been suffered to continue and to develop the seeds of good which existed within it, there is little reason to doubt that the history of Ireland in the nineteenth century would have been a different and a more happy one.

To two of the statements made by Dr. Kiernan we venture to take exception. On page 55 he states that the Act passed in England in 1642 to raise subscriptions for the suppression of the Irish insurrection was "the first English Act clearly designed to carry the force of law in Ireland." During the early Norman centuries several such Acts were passed. The Irish parliament of 1459 enters an emphatic protest against them. There are even a few instances of statutes passed in England for Ireland alone, the most notable being the "Ordinatio Facta pro Statu Terrae Hiberniae" of 1358.

It can scarcely be truly said that the Act 20 George III, cs. 6, 10, 18, placed "Irish trade on an equal footing with British" (page 224); grievances, especially with regard to colonial trade, still remained and continued till the extinction of the Irish parliament.

It is a detail that Lord Capel, who was the chief governor of Ireland in 1695, was not (as stated on page 121) Lord Lieutenant, but Lord Deputy. He was the last Irish Viceroy who bore the lesser title. M. T. H.

SINN DER GESCHICHTE. Von Joseph Bernhart.
URGESCHICHTE DER MENSCHHEIT. Von Hugo Obermaier
GEOGRAPHISCHE GRUNDLAGEN DER GESCHICHTE.
Von Hugo Hassinger.
Freiburg: Herder. 1931. 12 M. (Vol. 1), 10.50 M. (Vol. 2).

THESE three works form Volumes I and II of a magnificently planned new historical series, under the general title "Geschichte der Führenden Völker," produced by the great German Catholic publishing firm. The series, which will take half-a-dozen years to complete, is to comprise thirty volumes, and will provide a survey of universal history in the form of monographs on the leading nations of the world. The fourth volume, on the early history of

Greece, by Dr. Helmuth Berve, has already appeared and been very favourably received. The two volumes under review are both very impressive achievements. Perhaps the sole fault that can be found with them is that they are only sparsely illustrated, a serious enough criticism in the case of a work like Dr. Obermaier's. One of the general editors of the series is Professor Junker, the Viennese Egyptologist ; the authors are all high authorities, some of them, such as Dr. Delaporte of the Institut Catholique in Paris and Dr. Dölger of Munich, among the few most eminent in their special spheres.

The series opens with a double volume, in which the philosophy of history and the early history of man, including the European bronze and early iron ages, are treated in a manner at once profound and popular. Popular, that is to say, in the German sense ; for it must be regretfully confessed that present-day readers of English require their knowledge in what Mr. Garvin so lucidly calls a " humanised " form. Educated Germans have a far stronger kind of intellectual digestive apparatus. Dr. Bernhart's eloquently-written opening treatise begins with the question, " Has History a Meaning ? " and proceeds through an exceedingly well-informed survey of all the attempts that have been made to answer it from Heraclitus to Spengler, ending with a presentation of the problem in the light of Revelation, which seeks the meaning of History in the kingdom of God.

Professor Hugo Obermaier of Madrid is an unsurpassed authority on the cultures of the Old Stone Age. His contribution, which occupies two-thirds of the first volume, is probably the best and clearest account of the earliest stages of human history available on its own scale in any language. Naturally enough he devotes somewhat more space to his own speciality, fossil man ; but his chapters on the neolithic and bronze ages are also full of valuable generalisations. He has his eye always on the essential, is never lost in the somewhat unprofitable detail of which such work tends to be full, and constantly uses the newest material to bring out the significance of his teaching in its various aspects. Many of his illustrations are drawn from discoveries made during the last five or six years. In this respect he shows himself abreast not only of the most recent work in palaeontology, which is to be expected, but also in very different spheres. Thus he gives an excellent summary of the discoveries made by Persson and Bertos at Dendrá in 1926, which throw new light on Mycenaean archaeology, and of the world-famed results achieved by Woolley at Ur. He manages to include an excellent brief summary of the history of European fauna and of the earliest developments in agriculture,

mining and metallurgy. Perhaps the most interesting items in a fascinating work are his description of the recently-discovered neolithic plough, of early varieties of beer, of the fate of the last remaining descendants of the palaeolithic bison and wild ox, and his assertion that the Celtic sword was a superior product, from the metallurgical standpoint, to the Roman.

The second volume of the series is a solid and informative survey of historical geography, well supplied with maps, and excellently documented—a work which again has no serious competitor on its own scale. M. T.

"*IN BRITANNIA*" *DANS LE MARTYROLOGIE HIERONYMIEN.* By Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XVII. London: Humphrey Milford. 1932. 2s. net.

In this paper Père Delehaye discusses the identification of the names of saints, numbering seven, who appear in the Hieronymian Martyrology as having belonged to Britain. He subjects the entries containing these names to a critical examination, leading to the conclusion that, of the seven, one alone, the martyr St. Alban, was in fact a British saint. The ascription of the other six to Britain is held to have arisen through this or that kind of error in transcription. For students of early Irish history the paper has special interests. It exemplifies the extraordinary scantiness of material for the history of the British Church during the period of Roman occupation, a scantiness which extends also over some centuries of the post-Roman period. This very lack of material for the history, religious and secular, of the Britons is a disadvantage for Irish historical studies, and has enabled much that is fabulous and much more that is weakly authenticated or only vaguely recorded to pass for substantial history of Britain during the period of Anglo-Saxon expansion.

Père Delehaye shows by various examples how material drawn up in tabular form is especially liable to various kinds of derangement in transcription, and how a study of such derangements may enable the original form to be reconstructed with more or less probable accuracy. In this respect also his paper is of interest to students of Irish history. There is evidence that the Annals of Ulster, the Annals of Tigernach, and the Annals of Inisfallen, down to about A.D. 610, if not later, have for common basis an ancient Irish chronicle which, at least in part, was drawn up in tabular form, not in consecutive paragraphs, with the result that, when it was afterwards transcribed by different scribes and reduced to the paragraphic form of the annals, its contents, especially

in regard to dates, suffered no slight derangement. In this case, the application of Père Delehaye's method might well help towards a partial restoration of the original record. E. MACN.

BETHANIE. Les Madeleines réhabilitées. By R. P. de Boissieu. Paris: Grasset. 13th edition. 1931. 15 fr.

THIS book is an account of a very remarkable but not widely known religious congregation. A young Dominican, Père Lataste, who died in 1869 at the age of 37, after a saintly life, had been sent on one of his first missions to preach to the women convicts in the Central Prison and Reformatory of his native town, Cadillac. His intense human pity and burning zeal for souls—even before entering religion he had been devoted to charitable and social work—were thus focussed on the peculiarly distressing future in store for these poor outcasts of society. He discerned amongst them many truly repentant souls of high spiritual capacity; and he conceived, almost in its entirety, a scheme for rescuing them from their unhappy lot. This was a religious foundation which should afford them not merely shelter and protection, but a permanent rehabilitation even in the eyes of the world. He saw them, like St. Mary Magdalen, entirely vowed to the service of God in penitent love, their former life forgotten and undiscoverable. For this purpose he instituted a new group of cloistered Dominican tertiaries, with the consent though without the active help of his superiors. He chose for it the name of Congregation of St. Mary Magdalen, and for its houses the name of Bethany—in memory of the house in which the prayer and activity of Martha companioned the contemplation and repentance of Mary. After innumerable difficulties Bethany was founded, spread, and now has three houses in France and one in Belgium.

The heroic peculiarity of Bethany is that the members of the community not only follow an austere rule and live a life of poverty; they not only shelter, train, and work with and for their children, discharged prisoners and other repentant women; but these, after spending some years as Little Sisters, can, if they have the religious vocation, become Sisters; so that the mantle of the innocent is literally and figuratively thrown over the repentant.

The story is told in much detail, but is of absorbing interest. One would like to quote pages showing the noble zeal of the founder and his wonderful co-foundress, Mère Henri-Dominique, and the great adaptibility of the Sisters and Little Sisters to varying needs; instead, we cite one of what the author aptly calls the *Fioretti* of Bethany.

A sub-prefect with two secretaries came to one of the houses on a tour of rather hostile inspection. The three men were left a moment in the parlour with one of the Little Sisters ; and the official, after carping at some moral inscription which caught his eye, said : " So you take in ex-prisoners, women of no character, branded and condemned by the law ? " Petite Soeur Alexandre drew herself up, looked her interlocutor full in the face, and answered politely but proudly : " Yes, Monsieur le Sous-Préfet, and I am one of them." The three men took off their hats, bowed low, and the sub-prefect with a changed expression said : " Ah, Sister, accept my profound respect ! " He recovered the courtesy which he had forgotten, and when the Mother Prioress came in she found him perfectly polite. Petite Soeur Alexandre lived to a great age, and to her last day she worked at painting and illuminating. Sitting in a low arm-chair, bent so that her chin touched her knees, she still painted in spite of cruel suffering.

M. R.

Church Music

THE MUSIC OF THE ROMAN RITE. By Sir Richard R. Terry, Mus.D., F.R.C.O. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1931. 10s. 6d.

This book replaces the author's *Catholic Church Music*, now long out of print. It is described by the publishers as a " Manual for Choirmasters in English-speaking Countries." Certainly no other volume that we know covers so completely the duties of the Catholic choirmaster.

Briefly, in the first part of the book, described as *Critical and Historical*, the author establishes the fact of Church music and the " essential fitness " of the older music. Plain song, Polyphony, and modern music are each in turn discussed, and the author concludes the need to-day to be " *devotional* music written by composers trained and equipped in modern technique, who, however, will be content to write (in their own twentieth-century terminology) in the spirit which animated the old composers in the days ' when all men were religious ' ". (p. 15). The Chant, as the official music of the Church and the basis on which the polyphonic composers built their music, receives due consideration. Frequently throughout the book the author urges upon choirmasters the necessity of a thorough knowledge of Chant and of being fully imbued with its spirit, if they would possess the spirit of the Liturgy and so be fully equipped for their work.

In the second part the author comes down to practical matters. Pronunciation of Latin, the whole art of forming and training a choir, the duties of the choirmaster and of the organist are among

the many things discussed. "It should be no small part of a choirmaster's duty to keep constantly before the minds of his singers that they are in Church to help in the interpretation of the Liturgy and *not merely to make music* while a ceremony is going on at the altar." (p. 79). Later (p. 92) the same idea is reinforced by a quotation from *Magister Choralis.*

The Chapter on *Plainsong Accompaniment* contains many good things, but we should hesitate to subscribe entirely to the author's principles. No one, of course, would question Sir Richard Terry's knowledge of modal harmony, but it seems evident that he does not hold with the full Solesmes theory of rhythm and especially "the independence of accent and ictus." Hence, when he refers to English text-books on the subject, he is compelled to fall back on works written for Anglican organists. It should be noted that Messrs. Desclée will shortly issue an English translation of H. Potiron's *Cours d'accompagnement du Chant grégorien,* which conforms entirely with Solesmes principles of rhythm.

One of the most useful chapters is that entitled *Traps for Choirmasters.* In this and in those chapters which comprise Part III, entitled *Complete Guide to all Musical Functions,* the choirmaster will find full directions as to "What comes next"—to use the author's own phrase—during any given service. A résumé of the legislation from the Council of Trent to the present day is given in Part IV, while the Appendices include the recent Decrees and a list of music conforming to those Decrees.

Altogether this book is of the utmost value to the Catholic choirmaster. The whole argument for "music in the Church style" is the most reasoned, restrained and forceful we remember to have read. S. C. L.

RELIGIOUS MUSIC. By René Aigrain, D.D. Translated by the V. Rev. Canon Mulcahy. With a Section by the Translator on English and Irish Religious Music. London : Sands. 1931. 5s.

THIS English translation of Professor Aigrain's book is most opportune, coming, as it does, at a time when the reform of Church Music is being seriously undertaken in both England and Ireland. Choirmasters and others who have been studying the chant as a result of this reform will find much of value in the hundred odd pages the author devotes to this section of his subject. He traces the growth and development of the chant from its beginnings in Greek and Jewish sources, and its forms in the early Christian Church, to its decline in the 15th and its restoration in the 19th century. St. Gregory's share in the arrangement of the melodies

is examined fairly thoroughly, while several pages are devoted to the Sequences and Tropes.

The Sections on " Schools and Theories," " Notation," " Modality, Tonality, Modulation," and " Gregorian Rhythm " make this part of the book of very real value. Indeed this must be one of the first books in English to make mention of the Modal Theories of Dom Desrocquettes and M. Potiron, which are of so great importance to anyone seriously interested in the problem of accompaniment. The author's conclusions on the theories of the Solesmes School are noteworthy : " Among the assertions of the School of Solesmes hypothesis has certainly a share ; but in the present state of our knowledge it would not be becoming to make little of the probability of the system thus built up." Its musical value is beyond question, and its adoption in Rome and in all the important seminaries and Schools of Sacred Music is significant. But there are many problems yet to be solved, and " there is still a place for more than one band of inquirers."

The translator contributes a section on English and Irish Religious Music. How Professor Aigrain could have omitted all mention of Byrd and the other Elizabethans is beyond understanding. Canon Mulcahy remedies this glaring defect ; but when treating of religious music in Ireland, he makes no mention of the Plainsong Revival that is sweeping the country. We commend this book warmly, for it cannot but be useful to those working for the reform of Church Music. They will find in it much of value that is not available in English elsewhere, save in costly volumes and books that are out of print. S. C. L.

Mysticism

THE THIRD SPIRITUAL ALPHABET. By Fray Francisco de Osuna. Translated from the Spanish by a Benedictine of Stanbrook. Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1931. 10s. 6d.

It is somewhat strange that this should be the first English version of the *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual*, and we should be very grateful to the Benedictines of Stanbrook. St. Teresa loved this book ; and her copy, still preserved in the convent of Avila (if that sacred dwelling has escaped the fury of Spanish Bolsheviks), has whole passages underlined and marked by the Saint's hand. It was her first guide in the ways of contemplation. The ample quotations from her writings, given in the foot-notes to the present version, show how much she was influenced by Osuna's work. And yet that fact does not lessen the great Saint's originality ; it only

shows the continuity of doctrine in the path of truth. Osuna surveyed the foot-hills of Carmel; Teresa mapped the summits.

Peoples of prayer, the Céli Dé in the cloister and the world, will share St. Teresa's admiration and affection for this book, it is so full, thorough and practical. Open it anywhere and you have excellent spiritual reading, devout, fervent and instructive even for the common wayfaring christian. It is arranged in a series of twenty-three treatises, each of which expounds some spiritual maxim, the initial letter of each (in Spanish) forming the series of the alphabet. Thus L is the section devoted to Tears (Lagrimas); "Let tears be thy weapons in thy fight for Grace." Hence the title of the work, the Third Alphabet; for Osuna had written other works on a similar plan.

Osuna is a true Franciscan in the tenderness of his piety. He stresses sensible devotion more than the sterner Carmelite St. John of the Cross, but then Osuna was writing for beginners. The ground he covers hardly extends beyond the Fourth Mansion of St. Teresa; he wrote for the *turba magna*, not for the giants. If we of the colder North make due allowance for Southern fervour and the passionate emotional temperament of Spain, we will not be discouraged, if we cannot find in our devotions those affectionate tears he seems to postulate. This is where Osuna has to be read cautiously; for his mystical doctrine proper is sound and conservative. And God knows we need a little warmth at times!

JOHN HOWLEY.

A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF MYSTICISM. By Charles A. Bennett. Formerly Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. Reprinted with a preface by Rufus M. Jones, Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford. 1931. 11s. 6d. net.

THE DILEMMA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. By Charles A. Bennett. Edited, with a preface, by William Ernest Hocking, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard University. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

The first of these volumes is an interesting essay on mysticism, very readable, very sympathetic, a very refreshing change from Leuba & Co. It is a powerful plea for the validity of mystical experience understood as a privileged or quasi-privileged intuition of the Divinity. We cannot share what seems to be the author's view, that mysticism is a form

of super-religious experience and is one and the same in all cults and religions, the esoteric basis of all creeds and denominations, thoroughly pandogmatic or rather adogmatic. This is a common view among spiritually minded moderns, who find Catholic dogma irksome and unnecessary and want to find in mysticism a sort of Cowper-Temple clause which will unite all men of good will. But although we cannot accept this view of mysticism, we must admire the author's courage in defending spiritual truth against the onslaughts of materialism and the skill with which he makes out a strong case for the reality of mystical experiences in a high spiritual sense.

The second volume, even more than the first, makes one lament the untimely demise of Professor Bennett. He was only forty-four when he died in 1930, having built up a quite remarkable reputation as a professor at Yale. Judging from his *Dilemma of Religious Knowledge*, he would have gone far had he lived, for it is one of the neatest and most effective bits of criticism I have come across. His critique, for example, of Freud and Durkheim is masterly and well worth the attention of Catholic controversialists, both for style and matter.

To base an apologetic on religious experience has the advantage of a wide appeal to the non-Catholic mind, but the disadvantage of being open to the charge of subjectivism. Personal religious experience may be a cogent argument to determine the religious attitude of the individual who has had the actual experience, but will hardly affect other minds unless put as a pragmatic argument from its effects on the "convertites," and even then it does not seem to demand of necessity the existence of an objective factor. Professor Bennett examines in this short book the various replies made by the subjectivists to the objective validity of religious experience, and his refutation of their theories forms a notable contribution to this type of apologetic. It is sad to think that the author, an Irishman, by the way, has not lived to add to his good work, for he is one of those of whom we can say: "He that is not against us, is with us." JOHN HOWLEY.

Philosophy and Theology

ESSAI SUR LE BERGSONISME. Par Régis Jolivet. Lyon-Paris: Emmanuel Vitte. 1931. Pp. 164. 15 fr.

BERGSON occupied for many years the centre of the philosophical arena. In brilliance, originality, depth and synoptic vision his works transcended all the prevailing systems. They opened a new

era in philosophy, and contributed, more powerfully than any other influence, to rout the current mechanical and associationist theories. They restored metaphysics to its ascendancy, and were welcomed by many as bringing back to favour the Christian outlook in philosophy.

Though Bergson and his disciples continue to be an important school, the enthusiasm for his philosophy seems to have waned. This is, perhaps, partly due to the great advances since made in science, demanding as they do a new philosophical synthesis; but it is also due to something in the Bergsonian philosophy itself. In spite of so much that is satisfying and stimulating, it leaves our expectations unfulfilled. His solution is profound, but is elusive and mysterious.

The stage has now arrived when there is a demand for monographic presentations of Bergson's doctrine. This may be the result of a revival of interest; but it more probably indicates a wish to see his system in a truer perspective. Of such books by pupils of Bergson, those of Chevalier and Jankélévitch are the best. The present work of M. Jolivet arose out of conferences given to a non-professional audience, and is very simple and readable, avoiding technical and detailed discussions. It succeeds admirably in presenting clearly the essentials of the system. The exposition is sympathetic, showing how much gold is contained in the rich mine of Bergson's thought; but is at the same time critical, bringing out unmistakably its false tendencies. The parallelism between Bergson's discussions on leading topics and their treatment by St. Thomas is shown, not in the learned manner of M. Maritain's book, but in an easy and popular way. Although Bergson defends free will, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God, it is shown that the actual tendency of his philosophy regarding these questions is radically different from the doctrine of St. Thomas. J. SHINE

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST. According to the Principles of the Theology of St. Thomas. By the Abbé Anger. Translated from the French by the Rev. John J. Burke. London: Longmans. 1932. 12s. 6d.

TREATING of the doctrine of the Mystical Body, in his treatise on the Incarnation, Suarez remarks: "To follow out all the subjects included under the metaphor of the Head, we should have to treat a multitude of questions already fully studied." "In other words," says the Abbé Anger, after citing this passage of Suarez, "the whole of Christian dogma is bound up with the

doctrine of the Mystical Body." We may perhaps best express the character of his work by saying that it sets out to treat this "multitude of questions"; to review and synthesize the whole corpus of theology from the standpoint of this doctrine, showing it as "the centre, the source of light for the whole of theology." For example, to summarize briefly the first part, he treats of the Incarnation by which Christ becomes Head of the Mystical Body, the graces and prerogatives of Christ the Head, the mysteries of His earthly life in their bearings on His Mystical Body, grace as the supernatural vital principle communicated by the Head to the members, justification as the process of its communication by incorporation in the Mystical Body, and merit as its fruit. In succeeding parts the same method is applied to the doctrine of the sacraments, of the Church, of morals, of the resurrection and beatific vision, and of predestination. The result is "nothing less than a revision and effective synthesis of the whole of Catholic theology."

A work on these lines has two great advantages: it synthesizes theology and it vivifies it. The piecemeal analytic study of theology, treatise by treatise, is of course necessary for exact and accurate study; but it has the disadvantage of tending to make the student lose sight of the more inspiring synthetic view. Hence it is a great advantage for the student or priest, who has completed his studies, to review them in the light of one unifying principle. More important perhaps is the other advantage of vivifying them, by bringing them into more vital contact with daily spiritual and moral life. Long ago Lessius, a great professor of theology remarked on the tendency to keep the study of theology and the spiritual life in separate compartments, and he wrote his beautiful treatise *De Perfectionibus Divinis* to show how they might be united with mutual advantage. Few better means of effecting that unification can be found than such a complete study of the doctrine of the Mystical Body as we find in this work. That doctrine, as the summary of the theology of St. Paul's epistles, has been studied by Father Prat in his *Theology of St. Paul*; as the central doctrine of Christian spirituality in Dom Marmion's *Christ the Life of the Soul.* The Abbé Anger's book is the first exhaustive study of it in all its bearings; drawing with a copious wealth of citation and reference on all the "loci theologici," Scripture, Fathers, and theologians. It is a work that will repay reading and study.

The present translation is excellently done, and is equipped with an exhaustive analytical table of contents. But the method

adopted of placing all the notes and references at the end of the volume, instead of at the foot of the page, is decidedly inconvenient —is, in fact, exasperating, because they are neither numbered nor paged consecutively. P. O'D.

Scripture

THE WESTMINSTER VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. The New Testament. Vol. IV. London : Longmans. 1931. 8s. 6d.

MANUEL D'ETUDES BIBLIQUES. By the Abbés Lusseau and Collomb. Tome V. Paris : Téqui. 1931. 30 fr.

THE EPISTLES OF THE SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS. By the Rev. Cornelius J. Ryan, D.D. 2 vols. Dublin : Gill. 1931. 42s.

THESE three books all deal with the Apostolic letters or epistles, but in different ways and with different objects in view.

The first of the three is primarily a new translation from the original Greek of the Epistle to the Hebrews (by V. Rev. Canon Boylan of Maynooth), the Pastoral and Johannine Epistles (by Rev. Francis Gigot, New York), the Apocalypse (by the same), and SS. James, Peter, and Jude (by Father W. H. Kent, O.S.C.). This translation is now well-known throughout the Catholic world, and most of the component parts of this volume have appeared separately. They have been sufficiently discussed and criticized. All that need be done is to point out once more the leading features of the work—a translation into modern English which reads smoothly and by means of which it is far more easy to follow the thought of the writers than in older English versions ; excellent introductions and brief, helpful footnotes ; finally a beautiful piece of printing which it is a joy to read.

The work by the Abbés Lusseau and Collomb is a portion (the first to appear) of a work planned on a large scale, which is to embrace the entire Bible. It is to be in five parts, each of which will require a good-sized volume and in several cases two. In point of fact four volumes will be devoted to the Old Testament and four to the New. The volumes under review contain the whole of St. Paul's epistles, together with the Catholic epistles and the Apocalypse. Together they run to nearly 1,200 pages. As they are intended for seminarists, this considerable bulk would seem to tell against their usefulness. But, unlike some other Manuals of the kind, they consist not mainly in introductions to the various Scriptural writings but in explanatory commentaries on their texts. Moreover, the work is intended to be useful even to advanced students.

The principal merits of the Manual are those of many French works—a clear and methodical presentation throughout, introductions thoroughly competent but not overweighted with erudition, a commentary divided under appropriate headings and sub-headings, and so composed as to read continuously, and brief but sufficiently full bibliographies in which Catholic works are listed separately from non-Catholic. It need only be added that the work keeps closely to the lines laid down by Pius X in his letter on biblical studies (27 March 1906).

Faced with a new work on almost any subject, the first impulse of a reviewer nowadays is to sigh somewhat querulously, "But haven't we already . . . ?" New books of sermons or sermon material are particularly open to this sort of challenge. What of a new work on the Epistles of the Sundays and Festivals? Well, we certainly possess already a number of homiletical works on the Epistles. For instance, there is Abbot Sauter's work (in dialogue form) on the Sunday Epistles, published by Messrs. Sands in 1909. There is a very serviceable book on the Epistles and Gospels of the Sundays and Feasts by Fathers Callan and McHugh, O.P. And we have quite a number of other works containing sermons, sermon-plans, sermon materials, etc., on the Epistles. Yet I think it safe to say that the late Canon Ryan and his continuators[1] have accomplished a task that had not been achieved before, at all events in English.

The work opens with a general introduction (109 pages) to the Epistles of the New Testament, in which certain questions are dealt with once for all, so as to obviate the need of repetition in the body of the work. This Introduction deals with the authors, readers, occasion, and subject matter of the Epistles. Then the Epistles read at Mass on the Sundays and Holidays of the year are taken one by one. For the better understanding of the meaning and the lessons of each of them the reader is provided with a threefold aid—first the Greek text, with Latin and English versions, secondly a commentary or explanation verse by verse, and thirdly moral reflections. The commentary is the work of one who was for many years Professor of Scripture, and who possessed a thorough knowledge not only of Greek but of Hebrew, the original language of so many of St. Paul's quotations from the Old Testament. It is clear and substantial. The Moral Reflections are at times perhaps a little conventional and obvious, but are always solid and practical. S. J. B.

[1] At the time of the author's death the work was incomplete. It has been completed and edited by the Rev. Patrick Murphy and the Rev. Matthew Keating.

Science of Housing

HANDWORTERBUCH DES WOHNUNGSWESENS. Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1930. 881 pp. 50 Rmk.

THIS massive Dictionary of Housing, published under the auspices of the *Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform*, of which the business manager is the Burgermeister of Berlin, is the standard reference work on Housing in Germany to-day. It contains upwards of two hundred articles by experts in every branch of the subject. Possibly its most valuable feature is the copious bibliography of international literature given at the end of each article. It is obviously impossible to give even an idea of the wealth of information contained in its closely-packed pages. Almost every article suggests interesting comparisons with the pressing problem of housing in our own country. One sometimes, for instance, hears it hinted that the urgency of Dublin's problem, though great, is exaggerated, and that the slums of Dublin are no worse than those of any other city. This statement is only true in the sense that the rooms in which the poor of Dublin live are larger and more airy than those of other cities. Otherwise it is false, as the figures in the volume under review readily show. Between 20 per cent. and 25 per cent. of Dublin's population live in one-room tenements. There are only four other European cities of considerable size—Paris, Helsingfors, Warsaw, and Lodz—with so high a percentage. Berlin's percentage is only 3.7. The average population of the Dublin one-room tenement is three persons. This is only equalled by Glasgow, Warsaw, Lodz, and Prague.

When one turns to the constructive articles of the *Wôrterbuch*, one is struck by two things: firstly, the extraordinary similarity of the problem in every country, and secondly, the extreme difficulty of its solution. We find, for instance, under the heading *Sanierung Ungesunder Stadtteile* (Slum Clearance) five pages of close print. Their contents have a painfully familiar ring: the growth of slums, the slum landlord, basement dwellings, the relative values of reconditioning and clearance, the difficulty of moving a slum population, and all the rest of it. And there is an equally familiar ring about the conclusion that, even allowing for all possible reduction in building costs, the removal of slums is a costly and unproductive business. A warning note for Dublin is sounded in another article, where it is pointed out that in many German cities the building of flats for the workers without sufficient free space around them, and in particular the building of very high flats, has led to a disastrous renewal of overcrowding and the creation of new slums.

F. McG.

Books Received

Backer, Maurice de. La Vie, la Vivre, la Rayonner. (Beauchesne, 15 fr.).
Bainville, Jacques. Napoléon. (Fayard, 16 fr. 50).
Breton, Valentin. La Trinité. Histoire—Doctrine—Piété. (Bloud, 12 fr.).
Burke, John Butler. The Emergence of Life. Being a Treatise on Mathematical Philosophy and Symbolic Logic. (Oxford Press, 30/-).
Camm, Bede. Nine Martyr Monks. Lives of the English Benedictine Martyrs beatified in 1929. (Burns Oates, 15/-).
Collingwood, R. G. Roman Britain. (Clarendon Press, 6/-).
Costello, Sister Mary L. The Sisters of Mercy of Maryland, 1855-1930. (Herder, $3.00).
Curtayne, Alice. St. Anthony of Padua. (Father Mathew Record Office, 2/6).
D'Yvignac, Henry. L'Eminence Grise. Le Père Joseph. (Librairie du Dauphin, 10 fr.).
Dhorme, Edouard. La Poésie Biblique. (Grasset, 12 fr.).
Dieux, Marie-André. Splendeur et Féecondité de l'Ordre. (Bloud, 12 fr.).
Donovan, T. M. A Popular History of Kerry. (Talbot Press, 3/-).
Dressaire, Léopold. Jérusalem. Histoire—Archéologie—Sanctuaires (Bonne Presse, 30 fr.).
Duhamelet, Geneviève. Les Petits Soeurs de l'Assomption. (Grasset)
Eastman, Max. The Literary Mind. Its Place in an Age of Science. (Scribner, 10/6).
Ellis, Oliver C. A History of Fire and Flame. (Simpkin Marshall, 15/-).
Erskine of Marr, Hon. R. Changing Scotland. (Montrose: Review Press, 2/6).
Farmer, E. N. A Year's Preaching. Sixty-six Short Sermons. (Sands, 5/-).
Faulhaber, Kardinal. Rufende Stimmen in der Wüste der Gegenwart. (Herder, 7.80 M.).
Filippi, Filippo de. An Account of Tibet. Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727. (Routledge, 25/-).
Flitch, J. E. Crawford. Angelus Silesius. Selections from "The Cherubinic Wanderer." (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).
Gaffney, John J. Life of St. Patrick. With Novena and other Prayers. (Browne & Nolan, 6d.).
Gibson, A. Boyce. Philosophy of Descartes. (Methuen, 12/6).
Goyau, Georges. L'Eglise en Marche. 3e série. (Editions Spes, 15 fr.).
Grandmaison, Leonce de. Jesus Christ. Vol. II. (Sheed & Ward, 12/6).
Grou, Jean Nicolas. The School of Jesus. (Burns Oates, 10/6).
Gurey, Conrad. Sœur Marie-Fidèle, Franciscaine, 1882-1923. (Desclée De Brouwer, 18 fr.).
Hallack, Cicely. The Bliss of the Way. A Bedside Book for the Tramp. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Hanaghan, Jonathan. By Mortal and Immortal Seas. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
Hartmann, Nicolai. Ethics. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
Heseltine, G. C. William of Wykeham. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Heyret, M. P. Markus von Aviano, O. M. Cap. (Kösel u. Pustet, 12 M.).
Joly, Henri. Life of St. John Eudes. Introduction on Devotion to the Sacred Heart by Rev. Dr. Gauderon, C.M. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
Kircheisen, F. M. Napoleon. Translated by Henry St. Lawrence. (Howe, 30/-)
Kittel, Rudolf. Great Men and Movements in Israel. (Williams & Norgate, 15/-).
Klein, Félix. L'Enfance du Christ et sa Vie cachée. (Bloud & Gay, 5 fr.).
Lagrange, M. J. Le Judaisme avant Jésus-Christ. (Gabalda, 100 fr.).
Lahitton, Josephus. Theologiae Dogmaticae Theses juxta D. Thomae Doctrinam. (Desclée De Brouwer, 30 fr.).

Langeac, R. de. Virgo Fidelis. Prix de la Vie cachée. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.)
Lebreton, J. Vie et Enseignement de Jésus-Christ. (Beuchesne, 60 fr.).
Linhart, Robert. Die Sozialprinzipien des hl. Thomas von Aquin. (Herder, 8.80 M.).
Lippert, Peter. Vom guten Menschen. (Herder, 6 M.).
McEvoy, W. V. Story and Secret of Lourdes. A Religious Play. (Gill, 1/6).
McLaughlin, J. B. The Immortal Encyclical "Rerum Novarum" and the Developments of Pius XI. (Burns Oates, 2/-).
MacNeill, Charles. Liber Primus Kilkenniensis. Earliest of the Books of Kilkenny Corporation now extant. (Stationery Office, 6/-).
Mater, André. Les Jésuites. (Rieder, 15 fr.).
Magnin, E. L'Etat. Conception païenne—Conception chrétienne. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
Maguire, William J. Careers. (Powell Press, 1/-).
Martindale, C. C. The Words of the Missal (Sheed & Ward, 6/-).
Murray, M. J. The Catholic Home Annual, 1932. (Herder, 1/-).
Noguer, Narciso. La Accion Catolica. En la teoria y en la practica. Tomos i-ii ("Razón y Fe," 8 ptas.).
O hAodha, Séamus. An Dara Oir-Chiste. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
O'Rahilly, Thomas F. Irish Dialects, Past and Present. (Browne & Nolan, 5/-).
Otto, Rudolf. Mysticism, East and West. (Macmillan, 16/-).
Plus, Raoul. Baptême dans l'archéologie et l'art chrétien. (Bloud, 5 fr.).
Pollard, F. E. Religion, Morals and the Intellect. (Allen & Unwin, 5/-)
Premoli, Orazio M. Church History, 1900-1925. (Burns Oates, 10/6).
Prummer, Dominicus. Manuale Theologiae Moralis. Tomus I. Editio sexta. (Herder, 10.40 M.).
Raeymaeker, L. de. Metaphysica Generalis. Tomi I-II. (Louvain: Warny, 50 fr.).
Read, Herbert. The London Book of English Prose. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 10/6).
Rigault, Georges. Blessed Louis Marie Grignion de Montfort. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
Schwamm, Hermannus. Magistri Ioannis de Ripa, O.F.M., Doctrina de Praescienta Divina. (Gregorian University, L. 10).
Sérent, Antoine de. La Spiritualité chrétienne d'après la liturgie. (Desclée De Brouwer, 15 fr.).
Sheldon, Gilbert. Transition from Roman Britain to Christian Britain. (Macmillan, 10/-).
Simington, Robert C. The Civil Survey, 1654-1656. County of Tipperary. (Sationery Office, 10/-).
Stenton, F. M. First Century of English Feudalism. (Clarendon Press, 15/-).
Tagore, Rabindranath. The Child. (Allen & Unwin, 2/6).
Talbot, P. Amaury. Tribes of the Niger Delta. Religions and Customs. (Sheldon Press, 18/-).
Trochu, Francis. Les Intuitions du Curé d'Ars. 2e série. (Vitte 15 fr.)
Vermeersch, Arthur. What is Marriage? A Catechism according to the Encyclical "Casti Connubii." (America Press, 25 cents).
Walker, Leslie J. Science and Revelation. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
Walsh, Michael. The Heart Remembers Morning. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Whittaker, Thomas. Prolegomena to a New Metaphysic. (Cambridge Press, 5/-).
Wouters, Ludovicus. Tractatus dogmatico-moralis de Virtute castitatis et de Vitiis oppositis. (Beyaert, 17 fr. 50).
Wright, F. A. History of Later Greek Literature, 323 B.C. to 565 A.D. (Routledge, 18/-).
Yeo, Margaret. St. Francis Xavier. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

Codificazione canonica orientale. Fonti. Fascicoli II.-V. (Typografia Poliglotta Vaticana, L. 25 (II.), L. 10 (III.), L. 15 (IV.), L. 25 (V.).

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ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of January, 1932.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1931, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£43,891	14	5
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	41,246	7	1
	£85,138	1	6
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment (subject to deduction of Income Tax) of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum (£31,250), and a Bonus of One per cent. (£5,000) for the year 1931	36,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	33,888	1	6
	£85,138	1	6

No provision for depreciation in the market value of the Bank's Investments has been required.

By Order of the Board,
ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th January, 1932.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1931. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of 20 each—£2,000,000; amount aid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	
rve Fund	610,000 0 0	
ial Reserve for Contingencies	100,000 0 0	
solidated Bank Notes outtanding ... 550,000 0 0 s: Held by the Bank ... 95,226 0 0	454,774 0 0	
osit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest lue on Deposits	11,665,084 3 0	
dry Agents	28,020 5 6	
ate on Bills Discounted not at naturity	7,227 7 7	
fit and Loss Account ... £85,138 1 6 s: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10 000 0 0	75,138 1 6	
	£13,440,243 17 7	

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	967,161 3 10	
,, Investments, viz.:— War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	6,003,378 19 6	
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	230,685 11 3	
	7,201,225 14 7	
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,014,172 10 2	
,, Sundry Agents	11,444 17 1	
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	213,400 15 9	
	£13,440,243 17 7	

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1931.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Balance from last Account ...		41,246 7 1
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies		148,055 13 9
enses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	104,163 19 4	
ount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	
idend to be paid in February, 1932, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0 nus of 1% for ar 1931 do. 5,000 0 0 nk Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0 ance to next Acct. 33,888 1 6	75,138 1 6	
	£189,302 0 10	£189,302 0 10

AUDITOR'S REPORT

ave obtained all the information and explanations I have d in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing nd Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

ave verified the Investments. Their market value as on ecember, 1931, is in excess of the amount at which they n the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and hand at the Head Office.

e Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as bit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's according to the best of my information and the explanaven to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
, 12th January, 1932. Chartered Accountant. Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
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ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager*

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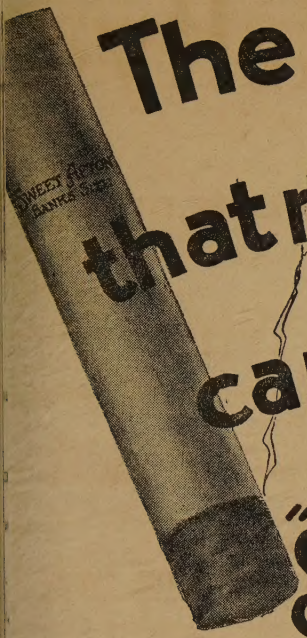

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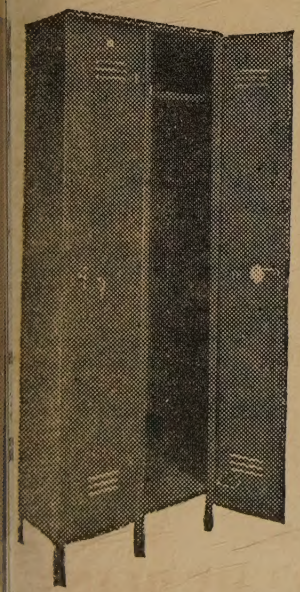

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